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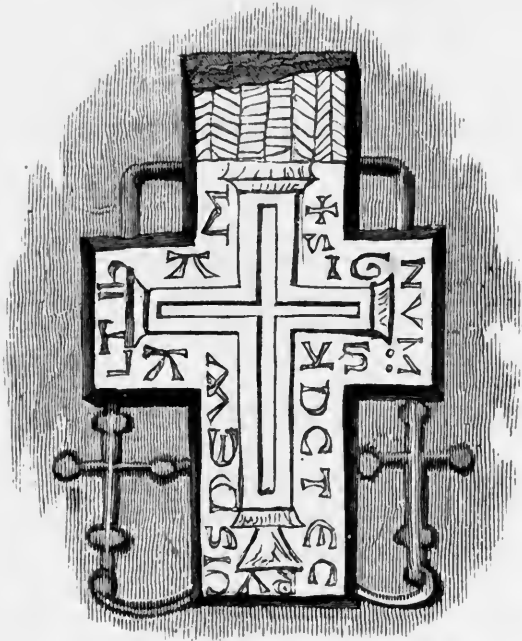


VITA HAROLDI.









MOULD FOR A PILGRIM'S BADGE OF THE HOLY CROSS OF
WALTHAM.

The illustration kindly lent by the British Archæological Association.

VITA HAROLDI.

THE ROMANCE OF THE LIFE
OF
HAROLD, KING OF ENGLAND.

From the Unique Manuscript in the British Museum.

EDITED,
WITH NOTES AND A TRANSLATION,

BY
WALTER DE GRAY BIRCH, F.S.A.,

*A Senior Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum;
Honorary Secretary of the British Archaeological Association;
Member of the Committee of the Palæographical Society, etc.*



LONDON: ELLIOT STOCK,
62, PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.

1885.

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INTRODUCTION,

THE romantic life of King HAROLD—the last monarch before England fell under a series of dominations of foreign dynasties, which has lasted nearly nine hundred years—has, for a considerable time, formed an interesting theme with historians and men of literature. It is printed in the following pages from a careful collation with the unique manuscript in the Harley Library of the British Museum, No. 3776, with a translation for the first time.

For the convenience of reference, I shall divide the subject of this introduction into the following sections: (1) Description of the Manuscript; (2) History of the Manuscript; (3) Notices of the Historical Points, and of the Translation.

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

The manuscript is of quarto size, measuring $10\frac{3}{8}$ inches by 8 inches, of somewhat thick and

rough vellum. The writing, in pale-coloured ink, is contained in thirty-one lines to a page, in a Gothic or black-letter book hand, occasionally difficult to interpret, because of the similar way of forming the *m*, *ni*, *ui*, *in*, etc. It is evidently written, or rather copied from the author's own writing, by a scribe ignorant of Latin—perhaps a novice of the great Abbey of Waltham—for several words are found divided erroneously, and others occur where they are improperly joined together. The ink, originally black, is now of a faded brown colour. The ornamental initial letters at the beginning of paragraphs are of red or blue colour; and the rubrics, or contents of chapters, are in red. The writing is of the latter end of the thirteenth century, or, at latest, of the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The volume, of which the “*Vita Haroldi*” forms the first article, contains several other treatises, written by the same scribe, which have been disturbed at some time from their original order of production, and other works have been introduced, although they have no connection with Waltham. The Waltham treatises are numbered by the scribe in numerical order, so that we can readily reconstruct the arrangement of the volume when it reposed upon the quiet shelves of the scriptorium of that great monastery. The subjoined table shows the contents of the work :

Numeration of the Waltham Library.	Numeration of the Harley Library.		Folio
.1.	(1)	Vita Haroldi ...	1-24
.2.	(2)	Ista quæ secuntur ... deficiunt in Libro de Inventione Crucis nostre de Waltham, etc. ...	25-30
.5.		List of reliques brought by Harold to Waltham Ab- bey, etc. (<i>Lat.</i>) ...	31-35 ^b
.6.		Miracles performed by the wood of the Holy Cross at the altar of St. John the Evange- list, etc. (<i>Lat.</i>) ...	35 ^b -38
.A.		Verfes on Waltham Abbey; Names of the Abbots, etc.; Visions, etc. (<i>Lat.</i> <i>and French</i>) ...	38-42
.8.		A tract on the In- vention of the Holy Cross of Waltham ...	43-62
	* (3)	A short chronicle of England from	

* Numbers 3 to 7 have been added to the volume; they are not of the same size, and are of later date. There is no evidence connecting them with Waltham.

Numeration of the Waltham Library.	Numeration of the Harley Library.	Folio
	1066 to 1128 (<i>Lat.</i>)	63-66
	* (4) Life of St. Brandan (<i>Lat.</i>)	67-75 <i>b</i>
	* (5) Henry of Saltrey's "Purgatory of St. Patrick" (<i>Lat.</i>) ...	75 <i>b</i> -82
	* (6) Life of Tungal, Bishop of Cashel (<i>Lat.</i>)	82-89 <i>b</i>
	* (7) Three Visions of Hell, etc. (<i>Lat.</i>) ...	89 <i>b</i> -92
.2.	(8) Meditation of St. Bonaventura, Minister - General of the Minorite Friars (<i>Lat.</i>) ...	94-114
.3.	Philosophical treat- ises on sobriety; old age, etc. (<i>Lat.</i>)	114 <i>b</i> -116 <i>b</i>
	(9) Verses on "Quid est Femina." This, although made a separate article, in the Harley cata- logue, is part of the old numera- tion 3. It ends abruptly at the bottom of the page	116 <i>b</i> -117

Numeration of the Waltham Library.	Numeration of the Harley Library.		Folio
	* (10)	“ Martilogium sanc- torum in Anglia.” A later tract on the burial-places of English saints (<i>Lat.</i>)	118-128
	* (11)	A calendar of the Saints’ days and festivals, between two fly-leaves, from a service book (<i>Lat.</i>)	129-135

II. HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPT.

Of the authorship of this early tale (whether true or legendary we may never know) nothing is known for certain. Internal evidences point to the probability that it was composed about a hundred and fifty years after the battle of Hastings. Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy (whose account of the Codex is given in his “Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the Early History of Great Britain,” vol. i., pp. 668-671) states that in his opinion “there is probably some truth in this curious narrative, but its errors are great and numerous. It is, however, known from good evidence that there was a report in circulation at an early period that Harold had escaped from the

* These two articles have never belonged to the Waltham MS.

slaughter at Hastings;" and he refers to Brompton,¹ Knyghton,² Ælred of Rievaulx,³ and Giraldus Cambrensis,⁴ those who are curious to know more on this subject. It is unnecessary to pursue this aspect of the subject on this occasion, for the object in view is not to theorize upon a matter which, after all that can be said on both sides, must yet remain unsolved. The endeavour of the present work is to present to the reader, in a convenient form, a text carefully collated from the only manuscript known to exist at the present time, with a translation appended to it (as literal as the remarkable style and phraseology, obscure, and in many places absolutely unintelligible, as it is, will allow it to be, but yet not slavishly close so as to be uninteresting to the general reader), for the use of those who cannot read it in the original Latin in which it is composed.

From what religious house the Manuscript passed ultimately into the hands of the great collector of the Harley Library is not, indeed, difficult to conjecture.

Here, again, Sir Thomas D. Hardy advances a fact which is highly probable. That learned palæographer considers that the composition was written apparently with the object of proving that Harold was not buried at Waltham, the traditional place of his sepulture, which, indeed, made that great House of Secular Canons rich and famous in the annals of British Monasticism. Now, as there

¹ *Chronicle*, col. 961.

³ P. 394.

² Col. 2342.

⁴ P. 874.

is little doubt that the work itself was composed, and certainly as far as the present manuscript is concerned, no doubt at all that it was transcribed, in the Abbey of Waltham, it is difficult to conceive any means for accounting for the apparent anomaly of an establishment which owed its prosperity, in a vital degree, to the pious sentiments which clustered around the sanctified sepulchre of the unfortunate King, causing a transcript, or perhaps more than one, to be made of a treatise founded upon a fact, and professing to prove a fact, which, if generally accepted, would have utterly destroyed the cultus of the departed monarch on which the flourishing condition of the Abbey both morally and financially depended.

Hardy, conscious of this difficulty, suggests that the authorship of this work—here designated by him as “little else than an historical romance”—must be attributed to “one of the secular canons who had been expelled from that establishment, and with the intention of robbing it of the honour of holding the remains of its founder.” But when we come to examine the theory thus advanced, it falls to the ground, for even if we admit the suggestion of authorship at the date to which he says internal evidence points—viz., one hundred and fifty years after the battle of Hastings, A.D. 1066 + 150 = A.D. 1216, as tolerably accurate,¹—can we possibly admit that, after giving the manuscript a

¹ The probability of this date is borne out in several passages to which footnotes are given in the places where they occur.

place in the *scriptorium* or library of the Abbey for nearly two hundred years, during which time every inmate would have constant access to a work which could not fail to arouse his interest and excite his critical comments, if not to shake his faith in the orthodox story of his founder's fortunes, the authorities of that institution would permit a transcript such as this undoubtedly is, an unpolished, almost, we may say, an uncorrected copy to be made about the beginning of the fourteenth century?

III. NOTICE OF THE HISTORICAL POINTS; AND OF THE TRANSLATION.

In this unique MS., which has been carefully collated for the press, there are few points to which the attention of the reader may conveniently be directed here. The simple *e* is used in all cases for the *æ* or *œ* of standard Latin orthography; *b* is occasionally added to such words as *abundo*, where the aspirate is manifestly an error, its addition, no doubt, marking the peculiar pronunciation of Latin by our insular scholars at the time when this manuscript was prepared. Another interesting deviation from the classical form, but one which is very representative of the early mediæval period, is the use of the forms *reicio*, *ejicio*, etc., for *rejicio*, *ejicio*, etc., where the *j* is eliminated from its proper place between two vowels. *Set* is used generally for *Sed*.

The punctuation is peculiar: no rules appear

to have guided the composer, who puts a point (.), the equivalent of our comma (,), in many places where we should certainly not use any stop; the colon (:) is also frequently placed dividing words from each other in passages where the modern ideas of punctuation would not allow such a practice. The comma and the semicolon are unknown; but the inverted semicolon (;) is occasionally used, much more sparingly than the point and the colon, in places where we should expect to see the semicolon or comma.

The text in the following pages represents the actual reading of the MS. I have preferred to retain even manifest errors in this text rather than attempt to explain them by any alteration. Most of these errors, after all, easily explain themselves. The footnotes are marked H., to show that the readings are those of this Harley Manuscript. The collations are :

(i.) With the text, printed by M. Francisque Michel in his *Chroniques Anglo-Normandes, recueil d'Extraits et d'Ecrits relatifs à l'Histoire de Normandie et d'Angleterre*, 8vo., Rouen, 1835, Tome ii., pp. 143-222.

The text of chapters viii. and xii. are omitted by M. Michel, whose text is otherwise fairly accurate and faithful. Where the readings of this edition are quoted in my footnotes, they are distinguished by the letter M.

(ii.) With a very poorly edited copy of the above text in the *Chroniques*, by Rev. Dr. Giles, of C. C. C. Oxford, in his *Vita Quorundam*

Anglo-Saxonum, "Original Lives of Anglo-Saxons and others who lived before the Conquest." This work, which was printed and published for the Caxton Society by J. Russell Smith, 1854, is now out of print. The remarkable peculiarities which the editor evinced in absurdly endeavouring to reduce the orthography of the manuscript to what he fancied was a classical standard, his carelessness in failing to consult the text of the MS. where the accuracy of the text of the *Chroniques* was doubtful, and the inaccuracies¹ with which his work abounds—culminating in his ludicrous footnote concerning his inability to point to the identification of a well-known locality in Shropshire—combine to render the text he gives in the *Vita* absolutely useless for purposes of critical examination or for quotation. I have collated a large number of these numerous departures from the true reading of the MS. in footnotes distinguished by the letter G.

The translation of this manuscript into English is here, as has been said before, for the first time attempted. And here I have to thank my colleague, Mr. I. H. Jeayes, for considerable assistance in the work. The peculiar style and diction, involved and obscure as it is almost throughout the work (except in a few narrative passages where the author condescends to write in a lucid and succinct manner), occasionally takes such

¹ The first word of his title, *Vita* for *Vita*, shows the same carelessness which runs through the whole of the work.

wandering flights of fancy that, even if we accept the readings of the scribe who made this Harley MS. as always correct—a fact which is by no means sure, for no second copy is extant with which to compare them—it is almost impossible to divine what the author wished to intimate to his hearers and readers, veiled and hidden in sentences of great length, crowded with “sesquipedalian words,” and overflowing with that peculiar characteristic of antithesis which the Anglo-Saxon and early English literary man so strongly affected.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH.

December, 1884.



MEMORANDUM

TO : [Illegible]

FROM : [Illegible]

SUBJECT : [Illegible]

[Illegible text follows, consisting of several lines of faint, mostly illegible text.]

VITA HAROLDI REGIS.



*Incipit Prologus in vita viri venerabilis Haroldi
quondam Anglorum regis.*



SICUT federis tabernaculi sub Moyse . MS. Harl.
ut templi sub Salomone Dominici . 3776, f. r.
divine commendant littere construc-
tores: ita et eos profecuntur laudi-
bus . qui devocione prona offerre aut preparare
construccioni necessaria: fideliter studuerunt. Apud
Neemiam¹ qui deriserunt edificantes inprecatione
terribili percelluntur. Reedificatores Ierusalem .
titulis ab Hefdra perpetuis ascripti: nominis et
operis sui perhennem posteris memoriam consecra-
runt. Hujusmodi consideracio ad ferendum quale-
cunque suffragium operi sancto in quo desudatis
patres reverendi tenuem licet censu et viribus im-
becillem parvitatem meam: vehementer vere fateor
incitavit. Accedit stimulo huic calcarium insuper
vice jam ultro currenti . hinc fraterna cum amica
suasione postulacio . inde cum paterna jussione
sollicita commonicio. Sencio quidem laboris
plenum . set mercede spero refertum . et quod vester

¹ Nehem. vi.

nutus injungit . et quod noſter animus geſtit. Expetendus autem ſummoque niſu cenſetur amplectendus modici ſudor temporis . quo non exigui et labentis evi celebritas: immo laudis et glorie eo manſure quo eterne decus et ſplendor optinetur. Ceterum quovis pro labore aut opere . laudis tranſitorie expetiſſe mercedem: operam perdidiffe eſt et impenſam. Non ſolum autem ſed nec nullatenus expetite ultro tamen ingeſte adquieviſſe favoris illecebre interni teſtis et eterni judicis ſeiſpum retribucione et laude privaviſſe eſt. Extat enim de ejuſmodi: ejuſdem diſſinico hunc habens modum: Amen¹ dico vobis: receperunt mercedem ſuam.

Jubet igitur ac petit auctoritas paterna . et fraterna caritas veſtra quatinus opus egregium quod ceptum excellenter decenterque provectum . laudabilem² iſtanter urgetis ad terminum . ſumptibus invigilem hinc inde aſſumptis promovere . ne forte piis deſint o[peri]bus copie neceſſarie ad hoc perficiendum. Ex variis nempe patrum ſcriptis volumen inſigne in modulum unius libri compactum . ad laudem et de laude glorioſe ac deifice crucis operioſius elaboratum geſtis memorabilibus³ fundatoris veſtri⁴ . cujus memoria in benedictione eſt . cupitis inſigniri . talique ut ita dicatur celeumate laborem votivum conſummari. Laudabile procul dubio quia devotum . quia providum hac in parte: ſanctitatis veſtre deſiderium. Eſt quidem devocionis nec indebite quod tanti viri magnalia naſciture preoptatis poſteritati litterarum

f. 1 b.

¹ Matt. vi. 2, 5.³ H.M. ; memorabilibus, G.² H. ; laudabile, G.M.⁴ H.M. ; noſtri, G.

indiciis fideliter assignare. Eo quippe juris tenore peculiarem patronum et perpetuum nutritorem vestrum debitis tenemini virtutum suarum preconiiis illustrare . quo crimini poterat ingratitude non oblique ascribi : si promeritos¹ laudum ipsius titulos . editui sui et alumpni desidioſo ſilencio poſteris furarentur. Providencie nichilominus competentis eſt quod laudibus ſancte crucis ipſius cultoris devotiſſimi laudes decernitis ſubrogandas. Crucis ſancte ex toto nimirum accedit glorie quicquid in ſervi ſui meritis et virtutibus : enituit commendabile.

Inter hec quam mee pariter incumbat modicitati animo magno et volenti quicquid vires ſuggeſſerint immo quicquid gratia celeſtis indulſerit ad impendia tam boni operis haut² ſegniter corrogare quis neſciat? Veſtrum ſiquidem immo Haroldi veſtri quinimmo ſancte utrorumque crucis jamdiu panem comedens ocioſus . quo veſtros erga me ſereniores vultus aſpicio : eo in me ſeveriorem illorum ſenſuram³ pertimeſcere jure debeo . ſi tantis quod abſit beneficiis non dixerim ingratum ſet⁴ inofficioſum . tam gratis quam gracioſe exhibitum : contingat inveniri. Geram igitur morem veſtris pro poſſe deſideriis geram quam potero vicem beneficiis : ea tamen ratione quatinus et vos veſtra michi pacta ſervetis. Tenorem ſcilicet ſcribendorum diligentius examinetis . examinata tantummodo approbetis : aut emendetis. Sermonis quoque

¹ Pro meritos, MS., with mark by a late hand to join the words.

² H.M.; haud, G.

³ Sic MS.; cenſuram, G.

⁴ Sed, G.

reicientes¹ minus elimati rufficitatem . fententiam fi videbitur refervetis² eleganciori ut dignum est ftilo explicandam. Nec enim defunt largiente Domino cetui fanctitatis veftre Befeleelis³ . Ooliab⁴ . feu Hiram⁵ peritiffimi fucceffores . qui oblatam in donaria Domini a fupplici vulgo rudem materiam . locis et ufibus congruentibus noverint adaptare. Noverint quoque arte magiftra prout res exigit fingula queque fubtilius expolire . refecare fuperflua informia componere: deformia exornare. Mee vero tantifper intererit impericie . aptiorem fabrice materiam a montibus excifam . et ratibus impofitam . ad planiora deducere. Quod egiffè putabor fi a prifcorum libris . fi a fedulis⁶ modernorum . fi a quorundam fidelium relationibus veris . paffim collecta: hujus libelli apicibus

f. 2.

¹ Rejjicientes, G.² Referventes, G.

³ Befeleel I. anno mundi 2544 . ante Jefum Chriftum 1510 . filius Uri et Marie fororis Moyfis . de tribu Juda. Hunc ipfum elegit Dominus cum Ooliab . de tribu Dan . quos implevit fpiritu Dei . fapientia et intelligentia . et fcientia in omni opere ad excogitandum quidquid fabrefieri poterat ex auro et argento . et ere . marmore et gemmis . et diverfitate lignorum . ad edificandum tabernaculum fœderis . arcam teftimonii . propitiatorium . et cuneta vafa tabernaculi. (F. P. Dutripon, 'Concordantiæ,' Paris, 1844, p. 157.) Befeleel's name occurs in Exod. xxxi. 2 ; xxxv. 30 ; xxxvi. 1 ; xxxvii. 1 ; xxxviii. 22 ; 1 Par. ii. 20 ; 2 Par. i. 5.

⁴ Ooliab . filius Achifamech a tribu Dan. Artifex a Deo vocatus . fpirituque Sapientie et intelligentie impletus ad edificationem tabernaculi una cum Befeleel. (Dutripon, *ut fupra*, p. 983.) Ooliab occurs in Exod. xxxi. 6 ; xxxv. 34 ; xxxvi. 1 ; xxxviii. 23.

⁵ Hiram . artifex erarius plenus fapientia, etc. (Dutripon, *ut fupra*, p. 607.) Hiram occurs by name in 3 Reg. vii. 13 ; xl. 45 ; 2 Par. ii. 13 ; iv. 11, 16.

⁶ H.M.; fchedulis, G.

que injungitis tradidero: simplicium noticie profutura. Oracionum autem vestrarum aura lenis et placida fragilem eloquii nostri cimbam crucis vexillo pro velo . et justii sui precibus pro amplustribus¹ instructam: in portum secundi litoris perducatur. Amen.

¹ Ampliis tribus, M. ; aplustribus, G.

EXPLICIT PROLOGUS.





INCIPIUNT CAPITULA.

PRIMUM. Quod speculum ferentis et clemencie eluceat in gestis regis Haroldi. Quod frater regine fuit . quam sanctus duxit Edwardus. Qualiter pater ejus Godwinus dolum eludens Cnutonis regis . sororem ipsius accepit in uxorem . et quod de viciis nutritorum suorum Haroldus insigniter triumphaverit.

II. Quod Wallia per Haroldum pene deleta sit : et qualiter ipse per virtutem Sancte Crucis de Waltham de paralysi¹ convaluerit.

III. Quomodo ecclesiam Sancte Crucis apud Waltham construxerit . ditaverit . ornaverit . atque ordinaverit Haroldus . et quod Henricus Anglorum rex amotis secularibus ipsum locum canonicis insignivit regularibus.

IV. Quod divinitus dispositum fuit ut homo iste in regem erigeretur . et victis hostibus ab eo : ab aliis ipse victus a regno deiceretur . et de anachorita valde religioso qui minister ipsius jam solitarii fuerat.

V. Quod inter vulneratores feminecem inventum et Wintoniam perductum . mulier quedam

¹ H.M. ; paralyfi, G.

Saracena biennio ibidem delitescens sanaverit Haroldum . et quod pro contrahendis contra Normannos auxiliis . Saxones Dacosque expetierit nilque profecerit.

VI. Quod in se tandem idem reversus intellexerit Deum sibi in via mundi adversari . unde Christi se conformans cruci ut hostem antiquum melius triumpharet gaudet se ab hominibus fuisse superatum.

VII. Quod pro expetendis¹ sanctorum suffragiis longam inierit peregrinationem: et quod antequam regnum habuisset . sanctorum limina apostolorum adierit.

VIII. Ammiratio² scriptoris cum exclamacione brevi super benignitate Dei qua fit ut etiam peccata electorum: ipsis cooperentur in bonum.

NONUM. Quod de peccato Haroldi multa dicuntur a multis: et de quercu fecus Rothomagum sub qua juraverat . que corticem exuta manet usque in presens. f. 2 b.

X. Satisfaccio quorundam pro Haroldo . qua eum de perjurio excusantes . Domino favente et sancto connivente Edwardo ipsum regnasse affirmant . et de visione Abbatis Elfini . qua victorem Norwagicorum ipsum fore prenunciavit sanctus Edwardus.

UNDECIMUM. De cruce sancta admirabilis quorum³ relacio que regi Haroldo festinanti ad prelium caput perhibetur inclinasse et alia quedam satis de ipsa cruce stupenda miracula certissime approbata.

XII. Diverforum diversa interpretacio super predictis signis crucis se inclinantis et quercus arefacte . et quod Haroldus se ipsum bene judicando

¹ H.M.; expetendis, G. ² H.M.; Admiratio, G.

³ H.M.; quorundam, G.

judicium prevenerit divinum et non formidet humanum.

XIII. Quod multis in peregre¹ annis exactis² ad Angliam ob exercitandam pacienciam et benignitatem Haroldus rediens Christianum se vocitari fecerit . decenniumque in rupe quadam expleverit solitarie vivens . et in hujus temporis antichristos compendiosa inveccio.

XIII. Quod in confinio Wallencium³ postmodum Haroldus pluribus in locis tempore multo degens . pacienter eorum frequencius tulerit affultus . faciem velans panno . et nomen nomine alio . ne aliquatenus cognosceretur quod tandem ad ejus veneracionem conversa est immanitas persecutorum.⁴

XV. Quod vir Domini Haroldus fugit obsequentes quos adierat et diu sustinuerat persecuentes . et quod voce de celo lapsa designatus sit ei locus paufacionis sue . et quod semiplenis verborum indiciis . sciscitantibus innuerit se fuisse Haroldum et quod scripto successoris sui plenius ostendetur inferius hujus rei certitudo.

XVI. Monetur lector ne spernat leccionem quam sentit a non nullorum⁵ opinionibus discrepare . et de triplici occasione contraria existimantium super materia presenti . et de Willelmi Meldunelfis⁶ circa Haroldi fata errore triformi.

XVII. Quid acciderit Waltammenfibus⁷ circa

f. 3.

¹ Inperegre, M.G.

² H.M. ; exactis, G.

³ H.M. ; Wallensium, G.

⁴ H.M. ; persecutorum, G.

⁵ H. ; nonnullorum, M.G.

⁶ H.M. ; Meldunensis, rightly, G.

⁷ H.M. ; Walthammenfibus, G. The scribe of the Harley MS. has written this word thus, "Waltā mensibus," clearly proving that he did not understand what he was writing.

patroni sui sepulturam pie sollicitis sed mulieris
cujusdam errore delusis.

XVIII. Quid frater Haroldi Gurta nomine *f. 3.*
Abbati Waltero vel aliis responderit super fratris
sui requisitus cineribus vel sepultura.

XIX. Quod viri Dei successor de gestis Haroldi
beatissimi vera scribens . causas gestorum minus
congrue . bis assignaverit . et prime assignacionis
discussio . et competens prolatis sententiarum divi-
ciarum¹ . testimoniis ejusdem improbatio.

XX. Secunde assignacionis infirmacio et scrip-
toris ad lectorem deprecacio et de difficultate
materiam resarciendi a priscis scriptoribus varie
laceratam.

¹ Diverfarum, M.G.

EXPLICIUNT CAPITULA.





Quod speculum serenitatis et clemencie Dei eluceat in gestis regis Haro[l]di.¹ Quod frater regine fuit quam sanctus duxit Edwardus. Qualiter pater ejus Godwinus dolum eludens Cnutonis regis sororem ipsius accepit in uxorem . et quod de viciis nutritorum suorum Haroldus insigniter triumphaverit.

INCIPIT VITA SERVI DEI HARO[L]DI¹.
QUONDAM REGIS . ANGLORUM.

CAPITULUM I.

ILLUSTRISSIMI vere quia regis legitimi Haroldi jam rite ac legitime coronati gesta recensere . nichil² aliud est quam divine serenitatis simul et clemencie quasi speculum quoddam lucidissimum piis mentibus exhibere. Quod ut clareat manifestius: ipsius immundana³ seu in Christi militia primordium progressum et terminum dilucide curabimus summamque legentibus intimare. Vere

¹ G. ; Harodi, H. Haro[l]di, M.

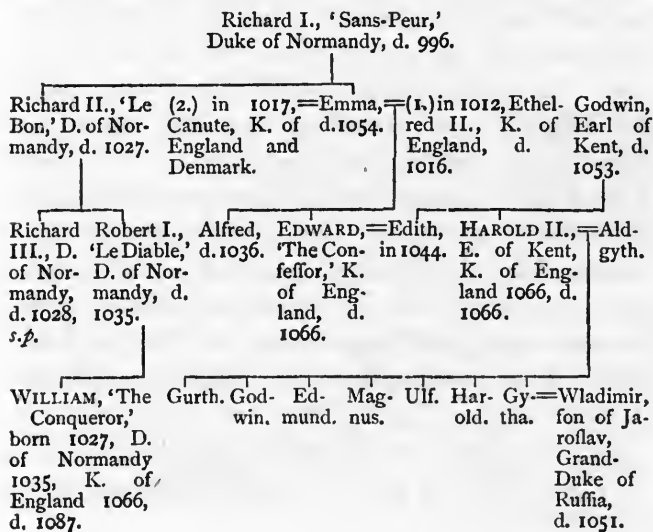
² H.M. ; Nihil, G. ; and so in all cases throughout the text.

³ In mundana, M.G.

autem regem illustrissimum legittimeque¹ hunc dixerimus coronatum . qui se ipsum bene regendo illique devotissime cui servire regnare est obsequendo: coronam adeptus est primum justicie et postmodum glorie sempiternae. Hunc Godwinus² comes potentissimus . ex sorore Cnutonis Anglorum pariter et Dacorum regis habuit filium fratrem vero regine venerabilis quam rex et confessor sanctissimus duxerat Edwardus. Cujus felici matrimonio quamquam citra opus juncta fuerit maritale utrifque nimirum permanentibus in perpetue virginitatis flore: promocionis tamen multimode causa fuit paterne familie. Constat vero

¹ H.M. ; legitimeque, G.

² It will be useful to introduce here a table showing the pedigree of Harold, Edward the Confessor, and William the Conqueror, and their relationship with each other.



ipfius genitorem vel ceterorum quofdam de illius genere . tum¹ prodicionis tum¹ et aliorum nota facinorum infamatos² graviter fuiſſe.

Hiis³ vero malis . neceſſitate cavendi imminentis exicii : Godwinus ſe primo immiſcuit deinde ulterius evagatur . Tuende ſiquidem ſalutis obtentu dolum temptare⁴ compulſus . dum ſemel cedit ad votum : fraudibus in poſterum minuende felicitatis intuitu licencius nitebatur . Dum enim prefatus rex Dacie diadema Anglie uſurpaſſet : cerneretque Godwinum incredibili aſtucia nec minori audacia peditum ſenſim ad ſublimia conſcendere timere cepit homo advena . indigene adoleſcentis viribus ſimul armatam et aſtu animoſitatem . Cujus licet ſibi perneceſſariam in multis expertam habuiſſet induſtriam : quiddam tamen de ſpiritu Saulis mente concipiens ereptorem ſuum propugnatoresque ſtrenuiſſimum dolo perdere cogitavit . quem palam opprimere niſi per invidioſam maliciam facile non fuit . Excogitato igitur conſilio Godwinum quaſi pro arduis regni utriuſque negociis mittit in Daciam . tale quid ſecum mente pertractans . Non ſit ſuper eum manus mea ; ſed ſit ſuper eum manus Dacorum . cum⁵ igitur jam medium equor navi opulentiffimo inſtructa apparatu ſecaret ; cepit ſuſpicio juvenis animum vehemencius titillare . ferebat namque ſignatas regis anulo litteras . ſingulis ſcilicet illius terre optimatibus ſingulas . quarum

¹ H.G. ; tantum . . . tantum, M.

² M.G. ; the letters *ama* in this word written in modern ink, H.

³ H.M. ; His, G.

⁴ H.M. ; tentare, G.

⁵ H.M. ; Quum, G ; and ſo throughout the text when uſed as a conjunction.

omnium profus nesciebat sentencias. Unius igitur sigillorum cautus effractor ex brevi incluso se in brevi agnoscit capitali dandum supplicio; si portitoris cum ventum fuerit ad portum plenius fungatur officio. Tenor enim scripture hic erat . ut quicumque illius feriem primitus advertisset . bajulum ejus Godwinum nomine capite incontinenti¹ mutilaret.

Expalluit novus Urias comperto quod sibi a rege parabatur . exicio paratque ut paucis utamur dolum extimplo² eludere dolo . fecit sic: extractasque a ceris suis singulas confregit cartulas³ . callidaque clerici cujusdam manu reponit recentes . quarum summa fuit ut Godwinum summo univerforum tripudio exceptum . regie fororis nupciis darent . nec aliter ei quam sibi si adesset in hiis⁴ que regia exigebant negocia incunctanter cuncti parerent. Sic regis bono regia mutatur sententia . sic miles milicie mutat stipendia . sic indebita cedit pena et debita bene merito accedit gloria. Sic denique in fratrem recipit quem utilem repperit rex militem . quem etiam paulo post fecit consulem habuitque pervigilem in reliquum proviforem.

Quo tamen eventu Godwinus in Dacorum plus^{f. 4.} quam satis favorem effusus . gentis sue quampluribus fiebat infestus.⁵ Non nullos quoque de femine regio quorum unus frater Sancti Edwardi fuit dolo perdidit sicque non modo in concives . immo et in dominos naturales non pauca deliquit. Verum

Nota de Edwardo et Godwino Pascali tempore.

¹ H.M.G.; for incontinenter.

² H.M.; extemplo, G.

³ H.M.; chartulas, G.

⁴ H.; iis, M.G.

⁵ In festus, H.

de hiis¹ alias qui voluerit plura inquirat. Quo² enim ad susceptam attinet materiam . satis est iccirco nos vel compendiose ista prelibasse ne inconsulte videremur illa preterisse: que minus intelligentes ad fervi Dei Haroldi contumeliam novimus intorfisse . cum sanum sapientes hec quam maxime ad ipsius gloriam videant pertinere. Qui enim gratia comitante divina vicium vicit quod ut isti volunt natura infixit quod convictus instituit: eo utique favorabilius triumphavit . quo et hoc ipsum quod natus . quod educatus est: superando mutavit. Nam etsi vicio ipse quoque ut asseritur evo adhuc rudis cessisse visus est . a natura simul et nutritura . violenciam passus estimandus est. Patet igitur quia operante eo qui de eadem massa vas aliud facit in honorem . aliud in contumeliam . id quoque in virtutis Haroldo versum est meritum et laudis preconium quod ei ad vituperium ab indoctis fuerat objectum. Sic rutilos producit . sic niveos³ quasi nutrit rosarum liliorumque: spina flores . quorum prerogative non adimit immo adicit⁴ qualitas abjectior ex consorcio cumulum venustatis.

¹ H.M. ; his, G.

² H.M. ; Quod, G.

³ H. ; niveas, M.G.

⁴ H.M. ; adjicit, G.





Quod Wallia per Haroldum pene deleta sit ; et qualiter ipse per virtutem Sancte Crucis de Walliam de paralysi¹ convaluerit ij

WIRIBUS autem corporis quantum presterit quam acer et strenuus animis armisque innotuerit: subacta immo ad internicionem² per Haroldum pene deleta: Wallia est experta. In hiis³ quidem triumphis . vivente adhuc sancto rege Edwardo: insignis enituit . Hiis regi et regno pacem et quietem quam fortiter tam et utiliter adquisivit. Interea dum inter coevos probitate et potencia major . summis eciam in regno proceribus prelacior esse videretur: manus omnipotentis que percutit et medetur carnem istius gravi percussione tetigit . ut sic presentibus necnon⁴ et futuris anime ipsius vulneribus medelam procuraret. Paralysin⁵ vocant medici genus morbi quo corpus hominis attactum debita dediscit officia . obsequia homini derogat consueta. Reddit enim subito partem quam invaserit . aut corporis totum: stupidum torpens

Nota de Ailardo Medico. f. 4 b.

¹ H.M. ; paralyfi, G.

² H.M. ; interneccionem, G.

³ H.M. ; his, G.; and so always throughout this text.

⁴ H. ; nec non, M.G.

⁵ H.M. ; Paralyfin, G.

et quasi emortuum. Haroldus hac repente tactus ac protractus¹ molestia; cum ceteris esset meroritur² presertim regi: fit precipui causa doloris. Hunc enim velut quodam presagio futurorum preceteris carum habuit et dilectum; cum stirpis illius quosdam suspectos habuisse dicatur aliquatenus et invisos. Quod sibi penes regem sanctissimum dilectionis et gratie privilegium non affinitatis quamlibet grata propinquitas non probitatis non industrie singularis quibus erat preditus eminentia; immo sola celestis inspiratio conciliaffe estimatur. Probabile enim satis est ad gloriam in hac parte Haroldi quia vir Deo plenus. divinique in multis consilii non ignarus eo indulgentius³ ipsum amaverit quo perpetuum in celis potius coheredem quam in terris sibi futurum providebat momentaneum successorem. Directi igitur regis a latere medici, necnon et alii atque alii prece precioque hinc inde allekti. egrotum ambiunt, quod ars seu conjectura suggerit exierunt⁴. sed Omnipotentis manum vires hominum amovere⁵ non possunt. Pervenit fama tristior ad aures Alemannorum imperatoris. qui regi Anglorum affinitate proximus. dilectione et amicitia erat conjunctissimus. Huic medicus quidam nomine Ailardus familiaris erat. quem et artis sue duplex exercitium pericia et experientia multa reddebat probatissimum. et quod pluris est favor divinus in procuranda sospitate languentium: exhibuit graciosum.

¹ H.M.; prostratus, G.

² H.; tantum, M.; tantum, G. ³ H.M.; diligentius, G.

⁴ H.M.; excierunt, G.

⁵ H.M.; amovere, G.

Hunc igitur imperator adhibendam¹ strenuissimo juveni medelam: regi amantissimo celeriter destinavit. Qui ad egrum deductus egritudinis materiam sagaciter rimatus curam adhibuit quam potuit. fet² in ventum omnis cedit opera: ubi hominis artificio celestis opifex molitur adversa.

Ea tempestate lapidea crucifixi regis nostri ymago³ non multis ante celitus revelata et reperta temporibus. et ad Waltham⁴ nutu perlata divino: miris in loco virtutum choruscabat⁵ signis. Perpendens itaque phisicus⁶ nature auctorem naturalibus artis sue viribus contraire. omnemque inferioris nature rationem. naturantis⁷ nature prejudicio funditus hebetari; intellexit protinus hominem verbere constringi virtutis illius de cujus manu non est qui possit eruere. Qui mox ut virum decuit fidelem f. 5. et prudentem. cui manu nequivit: ore non distulit remedium procurare. Nil enim moris habens fallacium mencienciumque medicorum opem voluit a se separari. quam sensit jam: per se non posse conferri. Nec suum tamen egrotum reliquid⁸ desperatum, fet a spe vana in solidam hunc spem transferens. in eo sperare qui salus est. sperancium in se fideliter suadebat. A quo ut ocus optate salutis gaudia percipere mereretur: crucis salutifere ob-

¹ H.M.; ad adhibendam, G.

² H.M.; sed, G.; and so always throughout.

³ H.M.; imago, G.

⁴ There are several interesting tracts relating to the cross at Waltham in the same Harley MS. from which this text is derived. For a mould, from which leaden badges of the Holy Cross were cast, see *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. xxix. 421; cf. xxx. 52.

⁵ H.M.; coruscabat, G.

⁶ H.M.; phisicus, G.

⁷ H.M.; naturantis, omitted, G.

⁸ H.M.; reliquit, G.

sequiis hunc infistere . votumque illi vovere . prout sibi dictaret interna devocio: salubriter adhortatur. Languidus vero salutis consilium sano percepit animo . mittitque concito ad locum ubi crux virtuosa celebris radiabat: exennia¹ ingencia. Supplicat obnixius loci custodibus salutaris nimirum signi peculiarius cultui mancipatis . quatinus et criminum veniam et dolorum levamen utriusque videlicet hominis sospitatem sedulis sibi dignentur precibus optinere.² Nec defuit in longum clemencia salvatoris salutem a se fide non ficta postulanti. Mox etenim dolor cum languore decrevit a corpore amor vero cum devocione circa sancte crucis obsequium jam convalescenti mirabiliter crescebat in mente. In brevi siquidem plenissime redditus sospitati . quantum medicine qua³ convalescerat extiterit devotus: magnificus⁴ comprobavit operum documentis. Veniens enim ad sanctam crucem Waltamensem⁵ salutaria curacionis sue vota persolvit donaria obtulit preciosa . ministris plurima largitus est . se ipsum gloriose crucis tutele commendans . hancque sublimius honorare disponens: letus tandem⁶ a loco . non corde recedens sed corpore: domino Regi et forori regine se incolumem⁷ presentavit. Congratulatur fratri regina . rex militi congaudet: universa simul curia exultacione festiva letatur. Nec quia convaleuit . set quia celitus receperat sanitatem: omnes quidem

¹ H.M.; exenia, G.

² H.M.; obtinere, G.

⁴ H.M.; magnificis, G.

⁶ H.; tamēn, M.G.

³ H.; quam, M.; [per] quam, G.

⁵ H.M.; Walthamiensem, G.

⁷ H.; incolumem, M.G.

in commune . plaudebant set rex ut erat sanctif-
simus impensus gratulatur. Geminata siquidem
letitia pre ceteris triumphabat . qui et Christi de-
lectabatur virtutibus tam pia exhibentis et devo-
cionis¹ fideique profectibus pascebatur in illis : quos
talium exhibicio in amore solidabat ejusdem piissimi
Redemptoris.

¹ H. ; dovocionis, M. ; devotionis, G.





f. 5 b.

*Quomodo ecclesiam Sancte Crucis apud Waltham
construxerit . ditaverit . ornaverit . atque ordina-
verit Haroldus et . quod Henricus Anglorum rex
amotis secularibus locum ipsius Canonicis in-
signivit regularibus. iij.*



AM vero hunc in quo vel per quem
virtus experta . et ostensa virtutis
prebuit tam multis incentivum nil
aliud cogitare nil loqui perpenderes:
nisi qualiter divinis posset beneficiis excellencius
congruenciusque respondere qualiter honore con-
digno salutis adepte gaudia . sancte quivisset cruci
compensare. Quo impensius autem ejus intendebat
cultui et insistebat decori . eo sublimius gracia illum
celestis virtutum et devocionis ditabat incrementis.
Qua vir nobilis commercii specie magnopere de-
lectatus . contendebat instancius de perceptis
muneribus gracias exhibendo beneficia mereri
pociora. Intuetur preterea quia et viro illi ad
gracias non exiles teneretur . per quem superna
pietas tot sibi exordia referasset commodorum: de-
cernitque condigno hunc fidei sue et devocionis
premio munerandum. Custodie siquidem oratorii

crucis adorande duo tantum clerici tam brevibus stipendiis quam tectis contenti humilibus videbantur infervire. At vir magnificus locum et loci cultum omnimodis cupiens cum suis cultoribus sublimare novam ibi basilicam fabricare . ministrorum augere numerum redditusque¹ eorum proponit ampliare. Utque celebriorem fama illustriorem clericorum frequentia . celestibus nobilitatum muneribus locum terrigenis exhiberet: scholas² ibidem institui sub regimine magistri Ailardi sue ut prelibatum est salutis ministri: dispoſicione satagebat prudenti. Nec paulo ſegnius quod mente conceperat rerum pergebat effectibus parturire. Jaciuntur feſtinato eccleſie amplioris fundamenta . ſurgunt parietes. columpne³ ſublimes. diſtantes ab invicem parietes . arcuum aut teſtudinum emicidiis mutuo federantur. Culmen impoſitum aeris . ab introgreſſis plumbei objective laminis: variam ſecludit intemperiem. Binarius clericorum numerus ſcilicet infamis: in miſticum⁴ ſenatus apoſtolici duodenarium convaleſcet.⁵ Pulcherrima nimirum ratione ut totidem in ejus templo ſancte crucis laudibus perhenniter⁶ infervirent perſone quot illius gloriam mundo principi- f. 6. paliter ab inicio homines nunciaſſent. Hiis vero predia et poſſeſſiones unde ſibi ad omnem ſufficienciam neceſſaria provenirent liberali munificencia contulit regia quoque auctoritate confirmari optinuit.⁷

¹ H.M. ; redditusque, G.² H.M. ; ſcholas, G.³ H.M. ; columnæ, G.⁴ H.M. ; myſticum, G.⁵ M. ; convaleſcit, G. ; -cet altered to -cit, H.⁶ H.M. ; perenniter, G.⁷ H.M. ; obtinuit, G.

Jam si temptemus¹ stilo² evolvere quot donariis³ quam preciosis et multiplicibus vasibus et ornamentis vario instructam decore illam edem Dominicam nobilitaverit . fidem scribendis forsitan derogabit tantarum rerum multitudo. Verum ne funditus vel in hac parte magnificentiæ illius memoria deleatur ad quod tamen livor vehementius aspirasse cognoscitur : opere precium est pro zeli fervore obniti . et cum species⁴ ipse rerum sublatae sunt quasdam velut umbras ipsarum considerare volentibus intimare. Indicium proinde rerum illarum que a primo Normannici generis Anglorum rege Willelmo in Haroldi ut traditur invidiam sancte sue crucis ecclesie violenter ablatae . et in Neustriam translatae sunt : presenti duximus pagine inferendum. Transtulit enim ut legitur idem rex de Waltham in Normanniam septem scrinia . ubi tria fuerunt aurea et quatuor argentea deaurata : cum gemmis preciosis plena reliquiarum . Quatuor textus : auro argento . gemmisque⁵ ornatos . Quatuor turibula magna : aurea atque argentea . Sex candelabra : quorum duo aurea cetera argentea . Tres urceos magnos ex Greco opere : argenteos atque deauratos. Quatuor cruces auro atque argento et gemmis fabricatas . Unam crucem ex quinquaginta marcis argenti fusilem . Quinque vestimenta sacerdotalia preciosissima : auro gemmisque ornata . Quinque casulas auro gemmisque ornatas : in una quarum

NOTA.
Summa . vj .
millibus et . vj .
centis et . lxxvj .
libris . Scilicet
in cappis aureis
et argenteis . in
crucibus textis .
et casulam que
vocata est :—
Dominus dixit
ad me.

¹ H.M. ; tentemus, G.

² H.M. ; stylo, G. ; and so always in the cases of this word.

³ See this MS. fol. 31, where a considerable list is given.

⁴ H.M. ; species, G.

⁵ H.G. ; an erasure in H., gemmi^s_z.

erant duodecim marce auri . Duas capas: auro gemmisque ornatas . Quinque calices: duos aureos ceteros argenteos . Quatuor altaria cum reliquiis: quorum unum aureum cetera argentea deaurata. Unum cornu vinacium argenteum . centum solidis computatum . Decem philacteria . unum quorum de duabus marcis auri: et gemmis preciosis . cetera: auro argentoque parata . Duas sambucas fellas femineas: ex multo auro fabricatas . Duas campanas: preciosas . Hec et alia permulta que ^{f. 6 b.} longum effet referre . queque Normannorum ambicio incomparabilia estimaret . devote per Haroldum sancte cruci oblata et per Willelmum invidiose noscuntur ablata. Hujus tamen ablationis invidiam perfunctoria quadam visus est idem Willelmus compensacione palliasse sicut inscriptum illa plenius refertur qua de invencione sancte sepius memorate crucis edita . ordinem quoque quo ad Waltham perlata est ipsa crux: luculenter insinuat. Ubi eciam que et quanta loco sancto sive in prediis et variis redditibus¹ sive in rebus multiplicibus ad ministerium vel ornatum ecclesie pertinentibus . mirabili devocionis ardore contulerit vir pius: plenius reperitur expressum. Nam quia stilius ad ea properat explicanda que cultor crucis gessit ac pertulit postquam se ipsum in holocaustum Domino suavissimum optulit² tollens jam quotidie crucem suam et Christum sequens . pauca de hiis³ perstrigendo referimus que de rebus suis velut sacrificium

¹ H.M. ; redivibus, G. ; and so always in the cases of this word.

² H.M. ; obtulit, G. ; and so always in the various forms of this verb.

³ H.M. ; iis, G.

justicie: Cruci consecrata donavit. Quorum tam multis in rebus mobilibus illi sublati quecumque in terris . et villis¹ five ecclesiis aliisque redditibus loco assignavit haftenus sine diminutione magna non attamen sine nulla ut dicitur possidere videtur. Statum vero ecclesie Walthamensis per dive recordacionis regem Henricum secundum in optimum nostris modo temporibus gradum videmus reformatum.² Canonici namque sub rigida . et disciplinabili regula ecclesiasticis excubiis per Haroldum mancipati ad secularia sensim tractu temporis plus equo devoluti sacro canoni pretulerant vanitatem seculi. Nomen enim trahentes de utroque seculo videlicet et canone: perverso ordine rem nominis dimidiavere. Secundum³ namque spirantes et canonem spernentes . hujus scita et illius oblectamenta: lance librabant minus equa . unde posthabitis divinis officiis spaciabantur in triviis mundi: quibus versandum erat in atriis domus Domini. Quibus demum pio regis jam dicti zelo inde amotis regularibus canonicis locus idem nobiliter insignitur. Qui Greco bene canoni regulam jungentes Latinam . sic gemine vocis et rei simplicis virtutem vivendo teneunt⁴ . quod Grecis jure et Latinis maxime veneracioni esse deberent. Hos Henricus officinis regularibus venustissime decoravit: set Haroldus redditibus⁵ necessariis gratissime

¹ H. ; et villis, omitted, M.G.

² This passage clearly indicates that the present text was written after the death of King Henry II., 6 July, A.D. 1189.

³ Sic MS. Scdm̄ for Scfm̄ ; with a marginal note *Seculum*; *Seculum*, M.G.

⁴ M.G. ; tenent, G.

⁵ H.M. ; redditibus, G.

sublimavit. Hiis enim sustentatur grex Dominicus *f. 7.*
in sanctitate et iusticia ibidem Domino devotissime
ferviens; hiis cotidie¹ adventantium caterve innu-
merabiles: multimoda consequantur² humanitatis
bona. Hiis viatores³ hiis famelicus: victum et
viaticum hiis languens: curam hiis algens; tegmen.
hiis tectum: hospes et advena. Hiis denique omnis
egens. necessitati sue subsidia recepit oportuna.⁴

¹ H.M. ; quotidie, G.

² H.M. ; consequantur, G.

³ H. ; viator, M.G.

⁴ H.M. ; oportuna, G.





Quod divinitus dispositum fuit ut homo iste in regem erigeretur et aliis victis hostibus ab eo . ab aliis ipse victus a regno deiceretur . et de Anachorita valde religioso qui minister ipseus jam solitarii fuerat. iiij



QUIS novit hominum quomodo compingantur ossa hominis in ventre pregnantis? Quis vero scivit vel scire poterit . quid conducat homini in vita sua? Dominatur plerumque homo homini in malum suum. Deprimatur nonnunquam et subicitur ab homine homo homini: in bonum suum. Sic in servum fervorum fratribus suis addicitur Chanaan . sic manus Joseph fraterno addicte zelo : in Chophmo servierunt. Sic et Haroldus noster ut ad propositum redeamus tanquam super ventum subito elevatur et repente eliditur valide. Regno pariter acclamante in regem erigitur . cesis qui irruperant barbaris victor ab acie cum triumpho revertitur. Recentem supervenisse hostem ut audit non metuit . sed insultat exterminatori suo veluti protinus exterminando occurritat. Manus conferit : et concidit congregatur et confiditur. Confiditur quidem et concidit . set

numquid ad perniciem vel ad insipientiam sibi? Num hoc sustinebit manus illa regis crucifixi . qua obstetricante egressus est coluber tortuosus? ea quidem permittente tetigit ossa ejus . et singula fere membra hostilis framea . carnem quoque ejus graviter vulneravit. Hac dispensante hac mirabiliter disponente hec omnia suo evenere Haroldo ut in ventre pregnantis ecclesie hominis ante tempora secularia precogniti et suis temporibus per hec omnia Deo nascituri et perfecte placituri : ossa compingerentur. Conceptus namque per devocionem secundum interiorem hominem Deo . hiis éxerciciis f. 7 b. crescebat et augmentabatur formabatur et solidabatur : ut demum in parturicione egrediente pre dolore Rachelis anima fusciperet in eo Jacob pro Bennoni:¹ Benjamin. Qui enim matri sue videlicet angelice doloris et mortis filius visus est . patri Deo qui populum mente superbum crimine hispidum variaque prodicione cruentum hoc eventu decreverat supplantandum : filius dextere² mira ipsius permutatione effectus. Verum quia ubique fere terrarum celebri fermone vulgatum est quemadmodum Edwardo sanctissimo ad celeste translato in regno terreno successerit Haroldus qualiter ejusdem favore de Norwagicis triumphaverit quamque magnanimitate quam celer et imparatus pre nimia mentis constancia supervenientibus Normannis occurrerit . ac cesis fociis ipse quoque in hoste ceciderit : nos que post hec per eum divinitus ac circa eum facta plerosque latere cognovimus : Domino favente

¹ In reference to Gen. xxxv. 18.

² H.M. ; dextræ, G.

scribemus. Quorum alia a quodam venerabilis admodum vite anachorita nomine Sebrichto . qui viro beato pluribus dum adviveret ministravit annis . alia ab aliis eque fide dignissimis accepimus viris . qui nobis ea hec certitudine scribenda retulerunt : qua esse verissima indubitanter probaverunt. Porro que post felicem ipsius excessum a corpore celesti per eum virtute patrata : pagine ascribentur ab illis qui presentes cum fierent interfuerunt scripta nobisque transmissa sunt. Predictus autem vir Dei olim minister ejus et sequipeda devotissimus . ut ille de mundo recessit . et quia ad Deum abiit miraculorum indiciis patenter declaravit : ejus ferventer in bono emulabatur exemplum. Cupiens quippe quo ille pervenerat et ipse pervenire : studebat quam similis potuit sicut ille ambulaverat : et ipse ambulare. Igitur quod et Haroldum fuisse noverat peregrinationis laborem amplexus natalis soli spontaneus exul . ut cujus sanctorum et domesticus Dei esse mereretur : efficitur. Nudus denique pedes a confinio recedit urbis Cestrensis ubi thesaurum quem devotus aliquot annis ibidem observant¹ parte in superni regis coronam subblata . partis reliquum humi defossam dimittebat : nudus etiam cupiditatis mundane progreditur. Sic nudus et expeditus crucem Dominicam in loco quo Dominicis aptata fuit membris aditurus : sepulcrum ejus gloriosum visitaturus . in loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus adoraturus . Angliam demum egreditur plurima nichilominus et alia sancta sanctorum limina ut fecerat Haroldus lacrimis rigaturus . linguas insuper quas

¹ H.M. ; observat, G.

non noverat auditurus . et tribulaciones pro Christo non modicas cum gaudio fubiturus . alienigenarum fines ingreditur. Postremo voti saluberrimi compos effectus post varios quos enumerare non vacat circuitus ad patrium ut Haroldus solum revertitur.

Reversus vero in villa quadam territorii Oxenfordensis Stanton¹ nomine sese permanfurum recepit . receptum: inclusit. Inclusus plerisque ob scelera clausis et incarceratis austeriorem usque ad mortem vitam duxit. Hinc religionis quibusque venerabilis effectus et carus: a multis gracia edificationis mutue: requiri solebat et desideranter adiri.

De sequipeda
id est ministro
Haroldi in-
cluso in villa
de Stanton.

Innotuerat enim devotissimus Deo districtissimus sibi affabilis cunctis . beneficus multis; benevolus univcrsis. Per hec et hujusmodi Christi cuicunque bonus odor effectus cum² in odore unguentorum ejus cuncti traherentur . me cum ceteris tanquam pusillum cum majoribus simul rapuit . sibi que arctius vinculo dileccionis astrinxit. Quem adhuc vero tener . religionis professione tenellus . cum per internuncios utrobique graviores creberrime aliquociens³ per memetipsum visitassem:⁴ ad intima demum familiaritatis sacraria ab ipso admissus sum. In quo tandem annis jam proveccior⁵ adeo profeci: ut secum de interioris hominis statu conferenti . vix quippiam suorum michi secretorum quod instruccionis mee negotium expeteret: celare

¹ Stanton Harcourt, about five miles from Witney, G.

² H.M.; quum, G.; and so always.

³ H.M.; aliquoties, G.

⁴ Note in the margin of the MS.: "Auctor præfens fuit," in a handwriting of the fourteenth century.

⁵ H.M.; proveccior, G.

f. 8 b. valuisset. Qui cum rusticanus esset et totius eloquii alterius quam Anglici nescius¹. mirabilem tenebat. et amabilem de religionis summa proque ydioma² suo luculenter proferebat sententiam. ut de meipso aiebat. quod sententio dicam in paciencia et spe salutis mee summam puto consistere. Subiciebat quanta ostendisset sibi Dominus tribulationes multas et magnas. quamque clementer conversus vivificasset se. et quam de abyssis³ terre potenter reduxisset se. Interferebat et quanta passus esset in corpore quanta in mente connumerans et distinguens utriusque defectus hominis et varios affectus demonum assultus improbos. non parum quoque acerbos hominum insultus. Addebatque inter hec omnia jam jam paulo minus naufraganti sola misero michi spes in crucifixo pro anchora fuit. qua firmiter nisus omnia post modicum quasi in spumam et favillam evanuisse vidi que paulo ante ipsa morte intolerabiliora duxi. Verumptamen⁴ tales inquit ac tantas sustinui afflictiones carnis. ex quo corpus miserum tanquam feram indomabilem hujus in quo sive carceris inclusi angustiis ut inexpertus quisque ferream materiam sive lapideam vix unquam crederet tanta durare valuisset.

Hec ille non jactabundus de se ipso et laboribus suis pro Christo set memorabat animandum me inter ipsa videlicet tyrocinii spiritualis inexperta certamina trepidantem tanquam emeritus jam miles proprii sudoris familiari experimento ac roboran-

¹ Written twice in H.; the first word has a pen line drawn through it.

² H.; ydioma[te], M.; idiomate, G.

³ H.M.; abyssis, G.

⁴ H.M.; verumtamen, G.

dum talibus: estimabat. Talia vero mente compunctus proferebat non eorum que pertulisset erumpnam¹ deflens: set illius quam ad erumpnarum² suarum levamen percepisset consolacionis et gracie spiritualis memoriam: cum mira dulcedine eructans.

Hec de viri istius vita et moribus non superflue ut estimamus pagine videbantur inferenda. quatinus ex sanctitate alumpni liquidius docentur³ quante perfeccionis culmine conversacio claruerit sui nutritoris. Hic de Haroldo mencionem faciens non aliter eum quam dominum suum nominabat. ipsum profecto se patronum habere in celo exultans quem preceptorem in mundo habuisset. Per hunc igitur ut premissum est. et alios qui virum Dei viteque ipsius institutum variumque pro locis et temporibus statum agnoverant: ea que secuntur comparata sunt et vulgata. Horum nonnulli quod ipse Haroldus ipse⁴ quondam in diademate gloriosus esset dum viveret nescierunt conversacionis tamen illius testes fuerunt. et quibus deguisset in locis ex quo solitariam in Anglia duxit vitam plenius agnoverunt. Mundi namque gloriam cujus in seipso ignobiles et lugubres exitus expertus fuisset medullitus perhorrescens⁵ postquam in terra olim sua vivere instituit. nomen sibi novum ipse imposuit. habitacionis quoque loca ne quis esset cui quolibet eventu proderetur non semel mutavit. Verum hec seriatim inferius prosequemur:⁶ nunc a digressionis excessu ad f. 9. ordinem cepte narracionis stilo currente accedamus.

¹ H.M.; ærumnam, G. ² H.M.; ærumnarum, G.

³ H.; docentur, M.; doceatur, G.

⁴ H.; the second *ipse* omitted, M.G.

⁵ H.M.; perhorrescens, G. ⁶ H.; prosequemur, M.G.



Quod inter vulneratos seminecem inventum . et Wintoniam perductum mulier quedam Saracena biennio ibidem delitescens sanaverit Haroldum . et quod pro contrahendis contra Normannos auxiliis Saxones Dacosque expecierit . nilque profecerit . v.

DROSTRATO igitur ac superato in primo congressu a Normannis exercitu Anglorum Rex Haroldus plagis confossus innumeris inter mortuos . et ipse prostratur . Nec poterant tamen quamlibet multa . quamlibet letalia vulnera vitam funditus viro adimere : quem pietas salvatoris ad vitam et victoriam feliciter disposuit reparare . Recedentibus itaque a loco cedis hostilibus castris a mulierculis quas miseratio ad alliganda fauciorum vulnera illuc attraxerat : exanguis¹ jam et vix palpitans pugnator ille pridie potentissimus invenitur . Ab hiis² Samaritani erga eum vices implentur . ab hiis in vicinum tugurium . alligatis vulneribus suis deportatur . Inde a duobus ut fertur mediocribus viris quos francalanos sive agricolas³ vocant agnitus .

¹ H. ; exanguis, M.G.

² H. ; ab iis, M.G.

³ Judging from the context, the *Francalanus* was probably the same as the *Franco homo* of Domesday, of whom Sir H.

et callide occultatus ad Wintoniensium deducitur civitatem. Hic biennio latebras in quodam cellario fovens a quadam muliere genere Saracena artis chirurgice peritissima: curatus est . et Altissimi cooperante medicina: ad integerrimam perductus sanitatem. Qui viribus quoque receptis regie magnanimitatis confidenti:¹ quam animus nec in corporis strage omiserat: magnarum conatibus rerum credidit approbandam. Jam victoris sui jugo regni tocius nobilitas vulgusque colla submiserant . jam proceres pene cuncti aut perempti aut patria pulsi: avitos honores alienigenis parciendos ac possidendos dimiserant.

Cernens itaque Haroldus fuorum cladem . hostium felicitatem: corde ingemuit . et patrias magis quam proprias deplorans erumpnas²: aut comoriendum funditus aut subveniendum civibus decernebat. Penalius enim ipsa quam vix effugisset nece ducebat . si nec suis ereptioni fore temptavisset miserrime viventibus: nec misere peremptis ulcioni. Transfretavit igitur in Germaniam generis sui genitricem aditurus Saxoniam . gentis sue jam utrobique vulgatum miserabilem casum cunctis ipse miserandus deplorat . cognatos ad ferenda proprie stirpi suffragia instanter sollicitat. Allegat infortunium tam repentine cladis non viribus aut virtuti

De transfretatione Haroldi in Germaniam. f. 9 b

Ellis in his *Introduction*, ii. 112, gives a note, tending to shew that these *francones homines* are entered as if attached to the manor, with the *villani* and *bordarii*. The *Francigena* (see Ellis, *Introd.*, ii. 426) was probably one who could not shew his right to be considered an Englishman.

¹ H.M. ; confidentiam, G.

² H.M. ; ærumnas, G.

hostium . non ignavie civium . non denique timiditati . non imbecillitati sue esse imputandum. Solam sibi in tali eventu animositatem fuisse periculo . que suarum conscia in rebus bellicis virium . et victoriarum . hostilem multitudinem cum paucissimo milite excepisset. Vincere enim assuetus et vinci nescius victum me ait credidissem . si paulo fegnius novande¹ inimicis victoriam retulissem. Cesis namque favore divino a nobis cum rege suo Norwagicis qui regni nostri fines ab aquilone irruperant: exercitibus et ducibus nostris ad propria dimissis repente a regione australi supervenere Normanni. Quibus et ipse cum paucis repentinus occurrens non inferior viribus aut animis . sed numero minor compressus . tandem cecidi non victus cessi. Non incertam igitur victoriam de talibus confestim sumemus quos eventus non virtus hac vice superiores ostendit. Quorum in propriam² devocionem . et sua insolencia . et tocius nobis premeditate congressionis modus et exacerbate multitudinis copiosa solacia exhibebunt. Hiis et hujusmodi Saxones talibus quoque Dacos quos nichilominus sollicite adivit pro expugnandis secum regni sui invasoribus interpellat. Quorum studia ut vidit in diversa niti in que³ sua minus percurrere vota primo quidem graviter anxie mentis fluctibus estuare cepit . vehementerque addici. In hoc quippe ut erat sagacissimus securitati sue rex jam Anglorum et Normannorum dux caute profus

¹ H.M. ; novam de, G.

² H. ; promptu, G. ; perpetu[am], M.

³ H. ; inque, M.G.

folleterque prospexerat ut missa legacione regis gentisque Dacorum aliarum eiam finitimarum nacionum amicicias sibi abstringere¹. et gratiam conciliare festinaret.

¹ H.M. ; adstringere, G.





Quod in se tandem idem reversus, intellexit¹ Deum sibi in via mundi adversari unde Christi se conformans cruci ut hostem melius triumpharet antiquum gaudet se ab hominibus fuisse superatum . vj.



ANDEM vero in se reversus Haroldus et quasi a fantastico quo diucius sompno sibi redditus ad cor suum totus convertitur. Intelligit vel fero

f. 10.

obsistentem sibi in via hac qua inaniter ambulabat Deum . sui que fuisse angeli quem intus exteriusque in se sue tam pertinaciter cedentem pertulisset gladium. Apertisque mentis sue oculis aliud de cetero sibi genus eligendum videt preliorum alia requirenda presidia. Respexerat enim oculo jam propicio crucifixus rex regis dejecti labores et longos cruciatus . nec ulterius paciebatur peculiarem vexilli sui cultorem tanti meroris abyssu demergi involvi laberinto.² Respexerat sane . lapsum crimine . et lapsum a dignitate quo respiciente lapsus cadunt : et lapsi resurgunt. Respexerat denique ut fletu lapsus culpam dilueret . spem vero et studium regnandi non deponeret sed mutaret. Cepit igitur

¹ H. ; intellexerit, M.G.

² H.M. ; labyrintho, G.

lapsus videre et deflere sub aspectu cuncta cernentis criminum suorum et errorum lapsus cepit regni longe felicioris faciliorem multo viam agnoscere . et copiam presentire. Sedet animo crucis quam amaverat imitatore esse tollere quotidie crucem suam venire post crucifixum : et ipsum sequi. Nec vero a mente excidit quia ut ad hec idoneus fieri possit se ipsum in primis abnegare necesse sit. Quod nihilominus ut possit eundem ipsum sibi in exemplum proponit et adiutorem assumit . qui cum in forma Dei esset seipsum formam servi accipiens exinanivit. Intuetur jam qualiter Dominus mundi mundanum cum esset in mundo sprevit imperium . qui et quesitus in regem : fugerit . et milibus obsequentium turbis solitarie orationis secessum preterit. Reminiscitur datam huic per passionis dure et mortis dire supplicium omnem in celo et in terra potestatem. Previdet ab omni carne huic tandem occurrendum . donandum ab eo omnem hominem regno vel supplicio meminit sempiterno. Scit quidem¹ si eatur ad committendum bellum cum eo ipse cum decem milibus sibi occurrenti obvius cum viginti milibus veniat cujus adventus improvisus cujus dispar apparatus . quam² latenter invadit tam potenter improvidum quemque et imparatum nonnunquam exterminat et extinguit.

Posthabito igitur inani temporalis regni studio abjecto terrene concertacionis exiciali proposito. Ad hunc regem adhuc longe agentem legationem f. 10. mittere ab eo que vere pacis sunt tota proponit intencione postulare. Cujus tamen iram suis ut

¹ Quoniam, G. ; qm̄, H. ; quantum, M. ² H. ; quem, M.G.

timebat offensis cumulatam ne sua forte sola legacio minus sufficeret delinire: inquirendos censuit et quibus posset obsequiis inquirendos . et sue legacionis congruos adjuutores et ydoneos apud iratum regem interventores . cujus de cetero solius gratiam probavit et gloriam ambiendam. Mutatur itaque in Haroldo hominis repente exterioris habitus . et interioris affectus. Fulcit quam armare consuevit manum . curtata in baculum hasta . pro clipeo: pera collo appenditur . filtro vertex adumbratur : quem munire galea . ornare diadema solebat. Pedes et tybie pro sandaliis et ocreis vel nudantur funditus vel femicinciis obvolvuntur. Ut autem et reliqua breviter explicemus: omnis armatura fortis . totus potentis ornatus vel abdicatur penitus : aut in abjeccionem transfertur : et penitentis penam. Nam humeris lacertis . lumbis et lateri: lorica solum . solita non adimitur . sed proprius admoveatur. Abstracta¹ siquidem et abjecta interula: nude carni calibis duricies copulatur. Sic vigilans non armatus sed incarceratus incedit ferro . sic dormientem non thorax excipit . sed thorax includit. Et mira plane exterius assumpta mutacio ista. Jocundum sane et angelis et omnibus sanctis spectaculum . circa tantum et talem virum . talis ac tanta permutacio rerum . verum multo jocundius intra ipsum sibimet exhibebat interius arbiter Deus . creans et formans in eo pro tenebris lucem . et universum stratum ejus mirabiliter versans. Vere inquam mutacio hec: non cujuscunque sed dextere excelsum ubi crudelitas . et feritas mitescit in cle-

¹ G. ; abstincta, M. ; abstincta, altered to abstracta, H.

menciam et lenitatem . contrahitur elatio : in humilitatem . Set quis mutacionis adeo felicitis uniuersa commemoret? Ut innumera vel¹ paucis includam . hac mutacione concupiscencia carnis . et mundi in horum versa contemptum et odium : desiderio cessit et amori celestium.

Sic sic operante dextera excelsi rex transit in militem et militem quidem Christi : plus jam contempto quam prius cupito regno mundi. Transit rex in militem efficitur rex miles . ut ita efficiatur miles rex; et rex simul ac miles transeat [in regem. f. 11. Illi enim militare aggreditur miles iste cui militare regnare est . et regnare quidem in presenti : in futuro conregnare. Illud vero conregnare multo felicitius quam istud regnare est quod tamen regnare mundo et mundi regno sublimius et majus est. Militando quidem regnat et regnando militat . donec mutet mansuris mutabilia miles Christi et absorbeatur mors in victoriam . et bellum vertatur in tropheum.² Tunc rex transibit in regem militans in triumphantem sollicitus in securum moribundus in semper victurum. Interea innovato rege innovato et milite . regnum novum in Haroldo cum innovata successit milicia : ipsius quoque cum singulis suis sensibus et membris in novos reflorescit usus mundi cordis et corporis substantia tota. In fame et siti in frigore et nuditate in orationibus in vigiliis in contumeliis³ et injuriis . in omni denique labore et erumpna maceratur caro roboratur

¹ H. ; vel, omitted, M.G. This is a clear instance of Giles copying Michel instead of reading the M.S.

² H.M. ; tropæum, G. ³ H.M. ; contumelis, G.

spiritus: anima delectatur. Quatitur suspiriis pectus hanelum¹. quod prius tumidum: spirabat cedis minas intonabat. Rorant lumina imbre lacrimarum. Fulmineum quiddam indignantis animi nutu in emulos consueta vibrare. Nil jam elatum cervicosum nichil aut truculentum os supercilia. et cervix pretendebant. Modestia incessum regit pietas animum. affectus: puritas sibi defendit. Interiores quoque motus et exteriores: honestas informat. sanctitas in suas partes omnia ejus assumit. Videtur jam sibi Haroldus solito felicius imperare. regnare sublimius tucius et utilius militare. Gaudet se ab hominibus victum. dum mundum dum seipsum vincendo: victus quoque melius de Diabolo didicit triumphare.

¹ H. ; Quantis s. p. anhelat, M. ; q. s. p. anhelum, G.





*Quod pro expetendis sanctorum suffragiis longum
inierit peregrinationem et quod antequam regnum
habuisset sanctorum limina apostolorum adierit . vij.*

INSTRUCTUS vero ab¹ unccione que
jam illum docebat de omnibus celestis
quem invenerat thesaurum desiderii
ne prede pateat inepte publicatus .
caucius sentit abscondendum. Nam et ovis primo
genita seu bovis nec apta sciebat aratris . nec
tondenda . quin et poma que germinant: legis
sanccone immunda decerni. Hujusmodi ergo a
Spiritu Sancto edoctus oraculis, omnes qui sibi
usque ad id temporis adhesisse visi sunt: amicos f. ii. b.
relinquid . necessarios deserit . ab universis demum
qui ipsum noverant: clam recedit. Adit populos
antea ignotos . requirit non ignotos . sed olim
quidem dilectione precognitos jam devocionis affectu
arctius complexos: longe lateque patronos. Abiit
igitur in regionem longinquam² vir iste nunc vere
nobilis . loca invisere sacra sanctorum in suis
ubique sedibus . aut edibus veneraturus reliquias .
regnum Dei quod intra se jam tenebat corum suf-

¹ H.M. ; omitted, G.

² H.G. ; lo[n]ginquam, G.

frangiis plenius et perfeccius accipere . et in suam demum patriam reverti. Adierat quidem antea nondum videlicet Anglorum consecutus regnum summorum limina Christi apostolorum devocionis plane instinctu . et sanctarum ab urbe reliquiarum ad sua potius reportandi quam in urbe adorandi obtentu. Ferventissimo namque studio sacras colligere fategerat reliquias¹ ab illo presertim tempore quo Sancte Crucis edificare apud Waltham ut predictum est ecclesiam cepit : et ditare. Unde accidit ut votis precum solutis tum prece tum precio varioque ingenio innumeris sanctorum pignorum opibus adquisitis magnificorum quoque martyrum²

¹ For a long list of these relics see MS. Harl. 3776, f. 31. The chapter treating of them commences with a short poem :

“Hoc sacrum pondus sibi conservavit Haroldus
Scilicet istarum thesaurus reliquiarum.
Quas tulit ignotis a partibus atque remotis.
Unde crucis sancte : se premuniret in ede.”

² The Virgin martyrs Chrysanthus and Daria are celebrated in the Calendar on the 25th October. According to Alban Butler (vol. x., p. 502) Chrysanthus and Daria were strangers who came to Rome from the East in the third century, the first from Alexandria, the second from Athens. Chrysanthus, after having espoused Daria, persuaded her to prefer a state of perpetual virginity to that of marriage, that they might more easily with perfect purity of heart trample the world under their feet, and accomplish the solemn consecration they had made of themselves to Christ in their baptism. Their martyrdom probably took place during the persecution of Valerian, A.D. 237. They were interred on the Salarian way, their remains being found in the reign of Constantine the Great. This part of the Catacombs was long known by the name of the Cemetery of SS. Chrysanthus and Daria. Their tomb was decorated by Pope Damasus, their remains translated by Pope Stephen VI. in A.D. 866, part into the Lateran basilica, and part into the Church of the Twelve Apostles. This, at least, is true of the relics of their companions who had

Crispanti et Darie rediens ad propria beata simul
 ossa visus sit asportasse a Roma. Verum tanti
 predam thesauri tandem sibi prereptam Romani
 fencientes et id non eque ferentes: jam abeuntem .
 jam longius abscedentem diete jam tercie seu quarte
 emenso itinere pium consecuti predonem gressum
 sistere cogunt. Nec enim reniti aut viribus vel
 fuga erumpere indigenarum multitudo paucos sine-
 bat peregrinos. Quid multa? Tenetur . arctatur .
 conviciis urgetur Haroldus. Quodque hiis egrius
 tulit . pristinis possessoribus minus¹ prout asserebant
 legitime conquistas: reddere compellitur inesti-
 mabilis precii margaritas. Predictorum igitur
 Christi testium in divinis non suffragiis violencia
 Romanorum spoliatus . cetera non minus preciof-
 issima Rome obiterve² adquisita . in ecclesia sepius
 memorata patrie redditus secum attulit reveren-
 tissime conservanda. Devocionis vero illius et Nota.
 cautele . vigilanciam in acquirendis et reservandis
 sanctorum reliquiis si quem plenius nosse juvat:
 prenotatum de invencione crucis Waltamentis
 superius tractatum studiose revolvat. Nos enim f. 12.
 que a veteribus scripta sunt intermittentes: novum
 nostrum novo stili officio prosequemur ut cepimus
 Christo ducente peregrinum. Quem et si multas
 perlustrantem orbis Christiani provincias . totque

been walled up at their tomb. The remains of SS. Chry-
 santhus and Daria had been translated to the Abbey of Prom
 in the diocese of Triers in A.D. 842, by gift of Pope Sergius II.
 In A.D. 844 they were removed to the Abbey of St. Avol or
 St. Navor in the diocese of Metz, according to Mabillon,
Sac. iv. Bened. p. 611.

¹ H. ; omitted, M.G.

² G. ; ob iter ve, H.M.

tam salubriter in tali perlustracione tempora confumentem nec locis singulis nec diebus comitari valemus queve egerit aut pertulerit in peregrinacione longissima singillatim nosse ac referre: saltem a finibus nostris elongatum jam diucius profecuti . ad nos quoque denuo remeanti alacrius occurramus. Comitantem vero . et deducentem nullisque aliquando temporibus aut locis ipsum relinquentem . Dominum magnifice collaudemus benedicentes in Domino pariter et famulum suum: venientem equidem in nomine Domini.





*Ammiracio*¹ *scriptoris cum exclamacione brevi
super benignitate Dei qua fit ut eciam peccata elec-
torum ipsis cooperentur in bonum . . . viij.*

NTERIM autem in hoc nomine illo
ambulante . illius anima per mul-
tarum cum sponfa circuitionem pla-
tearum quesitum et inventum tenente
sponsum . ipfius jam spiritum in Deo salutari suo
exultantem gratulabunda cum psalmista audire
michi videor voce canentem . “Convertere² . anima
mea . in requiem tuam: quia Dominus benefecit
tibi.” Hic vero precordis leticia benefici Domini
circa servum suum admirando magnalia : exclamare
libet. O larga pietas et mira benignitas spiritus
tui O virtus et sapientia eterni Patris coeterne fili
O dulcis O bone Jesu. O inestimabilem et in-
vestigabilem consiliorum tuorum altitudinem . Vere
cogitationes cordis tui avertere nemo potest. O
quam vera sensit de te que alloquens te. “Si³ de-
creveris” ait . “salvare nos: continuo liberabimur.”
Quam fidelis quamque acceptione dignus sermo .

¹ The text of this chapter is omitted by Michel, who states,
“In quo historiae materiam minime reperies.”

² Psalm. cxiv. 7.

³ Cf. Esth. xiii. 9.

f. 12. b.

fidenter prolatus ad apostolo tuo. "Scimus" inquit "quoniam diligentibus¹ Deum: omnia cooperantur in bonum." Benedictum sit cum patre coeterno . et Spiritu coevo nomen glorie tue sanctum . qui cum iratus fueris misericordiam facis et ut asserit mulier sancta: omnia peccata hominum in tribulacione dimittis. Et quidem omnia hec vera esse et in hunc modum innumera . que passim leguntur in literis sacris de te super hiis que perficis et exhibes diligentibus te in uno demonstraisti² tuo hoc dilecto dilectore. Quam evidens nobis argumentum quam precludum in uno homine isto suavitatis simul et fortitudinis tue speculum condidisti O sapientia que ex ore Altissimi prodidisti attingens a fine usque ad finem fortiter et disponens omnia suaviter. Ab hiis fontibus suavitatis et fortitudinis illi duo rivi procedunt gratie et severitatis seu clemencie et distraccionis quibus debriata superficies terre sanctorum everfis zizanniis³ semen producit in fructum vite eterne. Quante enim serenitatis pariter et gratie fuit quod sicut multi putant propter iniquitatem corripuisti quidem sed in eternum non projecisti hominem istum . corripiens et corrigens caucioemque sibi . tibi devociorem ex ipsa quoque iniquitate exhibens eum. Quanta suavitate quantaque fortitudine usus es circa eum tam valide de manu mortis eripiens illum vitam corporis ejus nec jaculis nec gladiis sibi permittens auferri . vitam vero anime etiam⁴ peccato ut dicitur ablatam restituens et reformans ei? Hinc et ipsius injusticia inventa

¹ Rom. viii. 28.² H. ; demonstrati, G.³ H. ; zizaniis, G.⁴ H. ; et, G.

est habundare in gloriam tuam . quandoquidem ex multa magnitudine et magna multitudine dulcedinis benignitatis tue ubi habundavit iniquitas sua superhabundavit in eo gratia tua . ut eo impensius diligeret te . quo plenius indulgentiam consequeretur a te. Itaque claresceret quia diligenti te cooperantur in bonum non aliqua sed omnia dum quod in malum semper est: ei cooperatur in bonum eternum¹ . suum videlicet et tantum peccatum.

¹ H. ; non æternum, G.





Quod de peccato Haroldi multa dicuntur a multis et de quercu secus Rothomagum sub qua juraverat quæ corticem exuta manet usque in presens ix.



DE quo nimirum ipsius peccato quia multi multa loquuntur . loqui debemus vel pauca et nos: et quid de eo fenciant qui vel exaggerare vel qui attenuare illud familiare habent in medium proferre. Nam ipsum non qualemcumque¹ sed immanissimum pat[r]asse² peccatum plerique accusant in tantum ut huic ejus enormi peccato Anglice libertatis ruinam estiment imputandam. Assumpsisse enim in vanum asseritur nomen Domini Dei sui adeo ut perjurio illud polluere non timeret cujus piaculi crimen prodigio mirabili divinitus quoque astruunt denotari. Quercus enim proceritatis magne. multeque olim pulchritudinis sicut hodie quoque cernentibus demonstratur sub qua jurisjurandi sacramentum duci Normannorum prestitit: mox ut illud regnum quod ei servandum juraverat .

f. 13.

¹ H.M.; qualemcumque, G.

² Patasse, H.; pat[r]asse, M.; patrasse, G.

ufurpando infregit: virore deposito defluentibus foliis corticem quod dictu mirum est repente exuisse perhibetur. Res digna fpectaculo quod lignum multis condensisque frondibus paulo ante fpeciofum non fegnius quam hedera,¹ ione² . quam oliva alterius prophete radicitus exaruit albique facti funt rami ejus. Auget miraculum fubditi marcoris: perpetuitas invicti roboris arboris exficcate quod frequenter cum plurimis et ipfi mirati fumus. Quis enim non obftupefcit vafte magnitudinis robor: ramufculis etiam minutis non imminutum fed undique inconfractum ab imis radicibus ufque ad fummitatem frondium omni velamento corticis fpoliatum . tot jam feculis nec etate ceffiffe . nec carie tabuiffe . nec ventorum turbine impactum . nec imbrium inundacione infufum . putruiffe . vel faltem nutaffe? Quo figno in anni circiter centefimi quadragefimi fpacium³ cum arborem vidimus jam porrecto . infandi fcelus perjurii vicinorum loco Rothomagus jactuabat . celitus infamari. Modico namque intervallo ab urbe ipfa diftat arbor infaufte ameno imminens faltui qui frate non multum abjacet a ponte Sequane ad Grandimontenfes⁴ eremitas⁵ feffe protendenti. Omine tam

¹ Jonah iv. 6, 7, 9, 10.

² H.M.; Ionæ, G.

³ If this be taken to fignify that the author beheld the withered tree after a lapse of 140 years from the occurrence, we arrive at a date certainly prior to A.D. 1206, the feventh and eighth regnal year of King John.

⁴ "Anno 1156 Henricus II. prioratum ordinis Grandimontenfis fundavit in Silva Roboreti, quem paulo poft in vivarium fuum prope Rotomagum tranftulit ad finiftram fluminis Sequanæ ripam; unde locus ille nomen fumpfuit beatæ Mariæ de Vivario." *Gallia Chriftiana*, xi. 47. c.

⁵ "La première vic des religieux de Grandmont, fut celle

inviso Londonias primum sibi presumpsisse fertur Rothomagus subjugandas. Nec alio magis auspicio tota simul Neustria egentis et avare domine compendiis prodigas Anglorum opes ancillari posse: docta est non desperare. Hiis adicitur¹ ab illis qui Haroldum jam vere victorem linguis adhuc infectantur . illius post modum ac post modicum consecuta quam facilis tam et crudelis dejectio qua ut inopinate regnum amisit. Sic infuscabiliter vitam vix conservando necem evasit.

des ermites, si l'on en croit l'opinion commune, différente de celle du père Mabillon," etc.—Richard et Giraud, *Biblioth. Sacr.*, xii. 262.

¹ H.M.; adjicitur, G.





Satisfaccio quorundam pro Haroldo qua eum de perjurio excusantes Domino favente et Sancto conivente Edwardo ipsum regnasse affirmant et de visione abbatis Elfini qua victorem Norwagicorum ipsum fore prenunciavit sanctus Edwardus . x.



DIVERSO nonnulli ex fine ipsius . et creberrime eciam antea interlucentibus circa eum superni favoris indicii viri Deo dilecti factum mecientes .

tam jurisjurandi minus observati . quam regni quoque rite suscepti : nituntur inducere rationem . Quod enim rem ut ex postfacto inquirunt manifestum f. 13 b. est univérse procul dubio genti sue exicalem si observaretur juravit: tam sue voluntati adversum quam suorum saluti contrarium fuit. Juravit tamen metu constrictus qui in virum constantem et continuo mori vel perpetuo incarcerari renuentem non immerito caderet. Nec vero alius a tantis angustiis patebat exitus: in terra aliena in manu potestatis tante concluso . fragilitati ergo mortali que vitam nisi in vita . vix exuit morem gerens et consilio qualiumcunque in tali tempore presencium amicorum : extortum¹ prestitit juramentum in quo

Nota de juramento Haroldi.

¹ H.M. ; extortum, G.

et leges mundane et divini canones variis vite hujus necessitatibus condescendisse . non ignorantur. De jure extorquentis hujusmodi sacramentum . alii ut libuerit disputabunt. Licuit vero ut manifestum est sic elicitum . si tamen quod nemo diffitetur etiam illicitum fuisset : non implere juramentum. Hac vero quia alias nequivit de medio se tenentium Haroldus exiit Normannorum. Qui suis demum redditus quid pertulerit . quid egerit : cunctis palam exponit. Exponentem ut audit : universitas in iram excandescit . initam mediante sacramento pactionem improbat ne observetur . vehementer reclamatur. Absit inquit absit ut serviamus Normanis! Absit ut fastus Normanici jugo barbarico : nobilitatis Anglice urbana libertas nullatenus substernatur ! Quid multa ?

Conclamant omnes, fedet hec sententia cunctis.

Posthabitoque juramenti quod nullum esse credebatur periculo : Haroldus demum unanimi omnium consilio sublimatur in regem. Quod preter divinitatis nutum minime accidisse : celitus post in brevi fuerat declaratum . cum enim rex Norwagensis¹ classe advectus numerosa intrasset Angliam aggressusque Eboracensem provinciam cede et incendiis obvia queque vastaret illique rex novus coacto exercitu festinaret occurrere tybie subito unius vehementissimo cepit dolore constringi. Qui ex suo tali compede plus subditorum discrimini quam suo congemiscens dolori noctem pene totam

Nota de infirmitate tybie.

f. 14.

¹ For account of this invasion and its result, see the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *ad annum* 1066.

fufpiriis et precibus agentes infompnem familiarem fancte crucis¹ expecierat subvencionem. In ipfa vero nocte afftitit in vifione fervo Domini Elfino² abbati Ramefienfi fanctus et vigil propugnator fuorum rex Edwardus predeceffor viri merentis et afflicti exponens . abbati regis utrumque et corporis fcilicet et cordis incommodum cogitaciones infuper illius in cubili fuo ei manifefans . mittensque eum et dicens ei. “Surgens vade et annunciabis regi veftro ex me quia et prefentis fui doloris medelam et imminentis belli me interveniente Deus ei conceffit victoriam. Sit ei cogitationum cordis fui revelatio confequende incontinenti divinitus fignum medicine fit et revelacionis infolite argumentum : capeffende victorie preflagium indubitatum.” Rex itaque ut paucis utamur divinis curatur beneficiis exhilaratur oraculis. Hoftes fidenter aggreffus facile vincit . quia non . fuus fed illius viribus superavit . qui fanat contritos corde et alligat contritiones eorum . deiciens³ gladio diligentium fe hoftes fuorum. Colligitur ergo racione non improbabili fuadente . quia fanctiffimo predeceffore

¹ H.M. ; carcis, G.

² This Abbot Elfinus is the Alfwynus or Aylwynus of Dugdale, who places him from A.D. 1043-1079. The Anglo-Saxon chronicle mentions him as Ælfwine in A.D. 1046 or 1048. He occurs in feveral charters in Kemble’s *Codex* as Alwinus (No. 809), Ælfwinus (Nos. 853, 904, 919), Ælfwine (No. 853), Ælfwin (No. 904), and Ælfwyne (No. 904). The French metrical poem printed by Rev. Mr. Luard among the “Master of the Rolls Series” (No. 3), p. 143, fays :

“Une abés fu de Ramfeie,
Ki *Alexe* ont nun, de feinte vie,
E li aparut feint Aedward,” etc.

³ H.M. ; dejiciens, G.

fuo connivente—Deo quam maxime¹ disponente regnum fuerit affecutus quod sancti et patrocínio munitus et oraculo premonitus divino astipulante suffragio de hoste superbo tam meruit triumphaliter liberare.

¹ These words repeated by error of the scribe, and afterwards their first introduction into the text scored through with the pen.





*De cruce sancta admirabilis quorundam relacio .
que Regi Haroldo festinanti ad prelium . caput per-
bibetur inclinasse et alia quedam satis de ipsa cruce
stupenda certissime approbata¹ xj.*



UI adhuc non solum hiis rationibus
et signis defensa est legitima sceptri-
gere potestatis adeptio . et ejusdem
favorabilis executio comprobatur.
Novo enim et seculis omnibus inaudito Sal-
vatoris clemencia suum dignata est peculiarem
servum signo iterum sublimius insignire quo unius
simul tam privilegiati titulo miraculi et suum
erga devotum regem et favorem ostenderet et
amorem . et illius contra probra infamantium
perenniter defensaret honorem. Res ubique prope
modum vulgata est . oculisque ad hoc usque
tempus subjecta que accidit. Revertens siquidem
a cede hostium rex fortissimus: et novis qui super-
venerant festinus occurrens inimicis . dilectam sibi ^{f. 14 b.}
ecclesiam nulla patitur festinacionis instancia pre-
terire. Divertit igitur devotus, ad ipsam ingreditur,
prostermitur . et liquefactis intimis² precordiorum

¹ See MS. Harl. 3776, f. 54. "De eleccione et coronacione
et de inclinacione capitis Sancte crucis."

² H., internis, M.G.

medullis: Crucem sanctam adorat . vota graciaram pro optento¹ tropheo² exaggerat pro optinendo si placeat summe majestati: preces suppliciter ingeminat. Oracione postremo completa: imminenti belli eventu cuncta moderantis arbitrio fideli devocione attentius delegato seipsum victoriosissimo signo commendans cum recessurus jam demisso vertice et prono corpore cruci sacrosancte valefacturus de more inclinaret se: inclinavit pariter se vultus ymaginis³ crucifixe. Terruit nimirum et exhilaravit quosdam astancium mirabile . et favorabile opus Salvatoris. Quid enim favorabilius vel cogitari potuit quam ut rex seculorum immortalis invisibilis visibiliter resalutare videretur regem mortalium miserorum salutantem se . et sibi humiliter caput inclinanti caput sibi saxee ymaginis quam dignanter tam et potenter inclinare? Quam nichilominus et terribile infirmitati humane fuit tam insolita videre ut contra naturam saxum flecteretur et quod supra naturam est Deus in sua ymagine homini inclinare cerneretur! De hoc vero quid dicemus quod ubi ars humana nec tenuem valuit divine ymaginis perforare palmam . ibi ymago ipsa flexisse visa est cervicem corpulentam? Sudat homo artifex et cruorem elicit: foramen vero in manu lapideum efficit.⁴ Orat homo in brevi desiturus esse rex . et collum lapideum quod manu hominis et si aliquatenus foraretur nullatenus tamen flecteretur . flectitur

¹ H.; obtenti, M.; obtento, G.

² H.M.; tropeo, G.

³ H.M.; imaginis, G.; and similarly throughout in cases of this word.

⁴ H.; [non] efficit, M.G.

repente nec frangitur . inclinatur sed a tocius integritate subjecti corporis vel annexi capitis nec tenuissima rima mediante dissipatur. Nec in simplici tantum materia tale . et tantum effulsit miraculum. Nam quod lapis interius latens hec et argentum exterius ambiens duplicato videlicet prodigio pertulit pariter et ostendit. Ipsa nempe illius ymago de quo scriptum est . *Suxerunt¹ mel de petra oleumque de saxo durissimo* . materia quidem petrina . immo et saxea est . qualitate durissima : circa humeros collum et lacertos spissa . et ut ita f. 15. dicatur corpulenta.

Hec revelacione divina in montis cujusdam vertice sub terra fuit reperta . nec sciri haecenus potuit quomodo vel a quo sculpta sit vel ibidem reposita et occultata. Perducta quoque est celesti regimine ad locum sepius nominatum . quo hec contigisse perhibentur bobus nimirum carrum cui imposita fuit ad transferendum eam per centum viginti circiter miliaria² illuc directe pergentibus nec aliorsum a cepto itinere declinari sinentibus. Ibi laminis argenteis vestita . et patibulo eminenti annexa nec affixa fuit. Nec enim vel tantillum artificii in sese admisit humani . ut foramina quibus clavi de more induci valuissent : in ea ullatenus homo facere potuisset. Nec enim istud intempatum³ fuit . Verum palma dextere illius ferreo vix instrumento aliquantulum superficie tenus terebrata molliciem habuisse inventa est . unde emisit sanguinem . sed duriciem non amisit qua

¹ Deut. xxxii. 13.

² H.M. ; milliarum, G.

³ H.M. ; intentatum, G.

repulit acutissimam celtem vel tarincam. Prestitit hoc ymaginis¹ sue dextere² Domini dextera . que ut psalmista³ . cecinit fecit virtutem . unde et materiali huic dextere que ibidem subnectitur congrue adaptatur . ut ipsa tot signis insignita tot prodigiis sublimata . rebus potius quam sermonibus dicere intelligatur . *Dextera⁴ Domini exaltavit me dextera Domini fecit virtutem.* Hec vero omnia nunc iccirco retulimus ut claresceret audientibus multiplicitas Dominice virtutis . quam in tali fecit inclinacione sancti capitis sacrosancte ymaginis . ut enim prefati fumus tam in argentea quam in lapidea effulsit materia Dominice dignacionis pariter et virtutis opus hoc admirabile in oculis nostris quod juxta cornu altaris . ubi hoc gestum est cotidie inspiciamus. Nec enim vel lapis crepuit vel lamina scissuram sensit seu rugam contraxit . cum a parte colli racione inclinacionis tante solito amplius tenderetur . et e regione gutturis et faucium non minori proporcionem plicari cerneretur. Nec vero parva fuit primarie disposicionis immutacio . ubi mentum ymaginis quod eminuisse olim accepimus . nunc ad pectus usque demissum ei velut infedisse ex premissa ut dictum est inclinacione videmus.

¹ H.M. ; imaginis, G.

² H.M. ; dextra, G. ; and so always in cases of this word.

³ Psã., H. ; pura, M. ; psalmista, G.

⁴ Psalm. cxvii. 16.



*Diverforum¹ diversa interpretacio super predictis
signis crucis se inclinantis et quercus arefacte: et f. 15 b.
quod Haroldus seipsum judicando iudicium prevenerit
divinum et non formidet humanum . . . xii.*



OC quoque tante pietatis opus quam dulce et propiciam tunc presentibus visum est omen portendisse tam infaustum et crudele posterorum nonnulli pretendisse dixerunt. Triumphato namque in brevi post hec cum suis rege eorum: subjectionem Anglorum lamentabilemque depressionem regni inclinationem istam presignasse plurimi estimabant. Ceterum quibus rei geste ordinem . et regis devoti erga crucem precedens pariterque subsequens meritum attendentibus . longe verifimilior meritoque benignior in opere tam divino occurrit interpretacio. Deus enim qui merita supplicum semper excedit et vota . supplices suos supra quam petunt et intelligunt: exaudire jugiter consuevit. Unde multociens² quos clemencius exaudit ad salutem . durius exaudit ad voluntatem.

¹ This chapter omitted, M., with the following note: "Hoc capitulum omisimus ut longum et infulsum valde."

² H.; multoties, G.

Nam ad voluntatem contra eorum salutem: suos exaudit solum inimicos. Nec est necesse de quibuscunque electis aut reprobis utriusque exauditionis exempla memorando: sermonem in longum protrahere. Sufficit reproborum principem confiderare sanctum virum Job ad temptandum petisse. et semel et iterum accepisse. sicque ad dampnationis sue cumulum exauditum esse. Satis sit e diverso ipsum electorum omnium caput meminisse passionis imminente aculeo calicis translationem petisse nec optinuisse sue tamen voluntatis nutum evidencius expressisse set patris beneplacito ipsam subiecisse immo et ipsam penitus abiecisse.¹ Non inquit mea voluntas set tua fiat. Deus enim in tali voluntate proprio filio non pepercit pro omnibus nobis tradens illum. ut cum de torrente in via bibisset propterea exaltaret caput: quod in cruce quum bibisset continuo inclinavit. Premisse tamen consummationis dicio: hostis humani generis denunciata deviccio fuit. Qua denunciacione promulgata caput inclinavit in pace dormiens. post sollicitudinis bellice longas vigilias. et post sanguinei sudoris agonem. in pace in id ipsum suaviter requiescens. Hec vero increduli: in contrarium

f. 16. converterunt. Quando vero triumphum de inimicis consummavit. tunc se regem victorem livor devictus vicisse credebat. Ipse autem quid egisset non incertus, caput invictum, et donec vinceret semper erectum in sompnum tam plene securus inclinavit. Patet jam quam peculiari signo fidei adoratori suo victoriam meliorem quam ceteri

¹ Immo . . . abiecisse, H.; omitted, G,

petere aut intelligere . caput inclinando regi se ostenderit concessisse . Ne enim prevaleret erronea victorum contra sui victorem existimatio : et crederetur regnum amisisse qui Judeorum rex dicebatur esse accessit perfidis litteris indita opinionis temerarie improbatio . capiti jam inclinato : titulo supposito . Erat enim scriptum in eo : *Jesus¹ Nazarenus rex Judeorum* . Permanfit enim vere rex . cui plebs impia quia regnum invidit ut ejus caput inclinaret : et ipsum occidit . At ille pariter et caput inclinavit et sibi regni potenciam vendicavit quam se plenius accepisse convescens , caput in tantum inclinatum super omnes celos exaltavit . Nemo igitur existimet nomen regum seu regiam regi cui² tale signum prestitum est a rege regum omnium . dignitatem deperisse : vel quia sibi in sua ymagine inclinari dignatus est , vel quia visibiliter triumphare de hostibus imminentibus ab eodem eidem permissum non est . Si vero et ad regnum cujus sibi temporalis administratio divinitus collata prius est et posterius ablata . presagium tam insolite virtutis duxerit quis extendendum Anglice felicitatis depressionem necnon et libertatis tam laice quam ecclesiastice non abnuimus significari infulcanis extunc³ fati expertam dejectionem . Verumptamen ex hoc servi sui prerogative crux sancta prejudicari non patitur . quia et quiddam aliud id quod pro eo specialiter egit . universaliter signare concedit . Ipsius nempe gemitibus pulsata et lacrimis . obsequiis insuper magnifice honorata : pro gratis officiis votiva ei non

¹ John xix. 19. ² Cui, H.; omitted, G. ³ H.; ex tunc, G.

f. 16 b.

autem invisa rependere . debuit vel pronunciare .
 Set neque transitoria et caduca immo stancia bona
 et eterna piis prestat et promittit cultoribus eter-
 nus . et invariabilis Deus pro suis laboribus vel
 obsequiis . Annuit ergo dedit et concessit rex regi
 quod petiit . et si forte aliter et melius concedere
 scivit . et dare potuit utpote celestis . terreno .
 permanens in eternum : ad eterna transiuro . Ab-
 stulit autem umbratile regnum cui verum servavit
 et eternum ne foret illud transeunti ad istud vel
 leve impedimentum . Ne vero cogitaciones homi-
 num timide quorum et incerte sunt providencie
 ob impendentis molem discriminis cogitarent pium
 Dominum adversus devotum famulum cogitaciones
 tantum cogitasse afflictionis . et non eciam pacis :
 immanitatem futuri scandali prevenire decrevit im-
 mensitatem premissi miraculi . utque tandem hiis¹
 finem imponamus talibus clemencie sue indiciis .
 dominus dominancium et instantis glorie . et ex-
 tantis gratie sue² manifestacionem . preferre servo
 suo dignatus est et conferre . Hiis denique beneficiis
 et in perfecucionis nubilo et in abjectionis luto .
 margaritam suo inferendam diademati illustrem ex-
 hibuit et ostendit . summa potestas . infinita pietas
 inaccessa sublimitas . sapiencie . clemencie³ . et
 magnificencie omnipotentis Dei Patris et Filii et
 Spiritus Sancti folius et unius regis seculorum eterni .
 Quod vero de quercu opponunt alii viderint ipsi
 qui silvestres . et feras et arbores colunt . qui ligna
 insensibilia . et bruta animalia hominibus nature sue
 confortibus ad ymaginem Dei factis et quod hiis

¹ H. ; piis, G. ² Indiciis . . . gratie sue. ³ H. ; gratiæ, G.

amplius est Dei morte redemptis: preferre nec metuunt nec erubescunt. Viderint ne forte jurare cogentis et secuturæ illius posteritatis potius quam juramentum exhibentis presignaverit auspicia: arbor ipsa. Viderint et dijudicent utrum eis congruat per quos sanctitatis pariter et libertatis viror et vigor emarcuit et evanuit antique in Anglia ecclesie quod ubi regni sui primordia pulsare ceperunt lignum viridè et frondosum subito exaruit. decorem repente exuit¹. et confusibilem tenuit nuditatem. In hunc modum secundum ea que accidisse dicuntur pro rege nostro beato Haroldo vel contra ipsum aliis sic aliis vero sic fencientibus, nos que parcium fuerunt tetigisse sufficiat diffinitivum calculum lectoris seu potius cuncta scientis Dei: examini concedentes. Quantum vero nostrarum intererat virium per hec que non superflue ut estimamus commemorata sunt lapides scandalorum de via tollere. et planum iter facere dictante ut confidimus ipsa rerum veritate² conati sumus. Supereft jam ut redeunti et de via longissima venienti ad nos regi nostro et patrono celeriter occurramus et repatrianti in Anglorum primum. deinde in Angelorum patriam devoto fidelis stili ministerio pro viribus obse-
f. 17.
quamur. Ipse vero non modo humanum set et divinum jam accusando et judicando se. sic studuit judicium prevenire ut sit ei pro minimo ab hiis judicari. qui in partem utramlibet odio propensiores aut favore: juxta humanum diem judicant. crebrius erronee rarius vere.

¹ exuut, H.; exuit, G.² H.; verum veritate, G.



Quod multis in peregrinatione annis exactis ad Angliam ob exercitandam pacienciam et benignitatem Haroldus rediens Christianum se vocitari fecerit decenniumque in rupe quadam expleverit¹ solitarie vivens; et in hujus temporis Antichristos compendiosa inveccio xiiij.



EXACTIS igitur in sancto religioſe peregrinationis fudore quampluribus annis alium converſacionis modum corpori jam laboris diurnitate etateque confecto de cetero cenſuit imponendum. Diderat quidem innumeras ſanctorum quos adierat virtutes et vitas ſanctiſſimas . decrevitque jam grefſum figere . circuitionibus finem dare valeſcere ex integro Marthe . cum Maria federe. Meditationibus eorum que viſu vel auditu perceperat ex dictis bonorum et geſtis animum ſpiritaliter ruminando quo liberius ſaginare² quatinus cum pſalmiſta re et veritate cantare potuiſſet . *Sicut³ adipe et pinguedine repleatur a[nima] m[ea] et la[biis] ex[ultantibus] lau[dat] os meum.*⁴ Guſtaverat ac tenuit et ipſe tum in ſe tum et in dulci ac

¹ H.M. ; explevit, G.

² H.M. ; ſaginare, G.

³ Pſalm lxii. 6.

⁴ H.M. ; maum, G.

suavi justorum sanctitate . quam dulcis et suavis est sanctorum Sanctus ; factuque ducit optimum in reliquum vacare plenius . ut videat perfeccius . sciat felicius quia Dominus ipse est Deus. Verum ne corporalis vacacio ut est familiare incautis animo inferret feriato ignaviam aut torporem . in illa potissimum vacare terra et quiescere preelegit ex cujus incolatu paciencie et benignitatis majus exercitium majusque argumentum : habiturum se exhibiturumque previdit. Sciebat perfeccionis culmen cujus pectore jam dilatato gerebat amplitudinem . in eo quam maxime eminere quod filius unigenitus summi patris fratribus adoptivis indicere dignatus est et docere . *Orate*¹ . inquit . *pro calumniantibus et persequentibus vos . benefacite hiis qui oderunt vos . ut sitis filii patris vestri qui in celis est qui facit solem suum oriri super bonos et malos . et pluit super justos et injustos.* Aspirans igitur precordiali affectu ad vere hujus ^{f. 17 b.} perfeccionis meritum et premium ad quam potius tendere vel in qua manere terra quam ad illam et in illa debuisset que tot sui persecutores : quot illius possessores . quot in illa potentes tot se odientes . tot ferme se calumpniantes quot sibi vel de se loquentes continet. Nec vero temere jam : tam forti se credit certamini committit discrimini. Non enim ignorat interni sui robur inhabitatoris quem inhabitabat . et a quo inhabitabatur nec vetabatur² cum apostolo dicere : *An*³ *experimentum queritis ejus qui in me loquitur Christus ?*

¹ Matt. v. 44, 45.² H.M. ; verebatur, G.³ 2 Cor. xiii. 3.

Tanti hospitis consciencia fisis Christianum se voluit nominari . ut ei unione jam spiritus conjunctus¹ communionem uniretur etiam vocabuli: quem se inhabitantem in se loqui: in se noverat et operari in se et pati. Nam et illud corde sibi . opere vero etiam nobis cum Paulo loquebatur: *Omnia² possum in eo qui me confortat.* Non sic impii . non sic quos hostis versipellis hostis dejiciens et dejectus . sic armat ut perimat sic roborat ut enervet. Docet enim vos ponere carnem brachium vestrum ut recedat a Deo cor vestrum ut sitis sicut myrice florentes et steriles . habitetisque nunc in terra falsuginis que suis fructum cultoribus non producit post in terra inhabitabili: que suis incolis requiem non concedit. In hac enim terra: solum sempiternus horror inhabitat. Quis enim habitabit cum igne devorante aut quis habitabit cum ardoribus sempiternis? Quibus tamen³ postremis verbis propheticis absque abusione abutimur . ignium non nescientes diversitatem . quorum iste peccatores sine consumptione consumit . ille peccata consumendo . peccatores justificans illuminat pariter et accendit. Quid autem nobis est de hiis qui foris sunt loqui vel judicare . qui ecclesiam immo ecclesias exterius quidem rapiunt et diripiunt . set intus nec intrant nec inhabitant vineam quidem Domini Saboth⁴ . pro posse suo vindemiantes et succidentes . set ab ejus cultore jam ipsi precisi . et nisi resipiscant . in ignem eternum in puncto mittendi? Verum⁵ quia

¹ H.M.; conjunctus, G.

² Philip. iv. 13.

³ H.M.; tamen, G.

⁴ H.; Sabaoth, M.G.

⁵ H.; Utrum, M.G.

Antichristi facti sunt isti ad¹ nostrum potius redeuntes Christianum hos sibi relinquamus et suo igni. Nam et nunc teste propheta ignis adversarios devorat . et juxta vitis vere sententiam: palmes f. 18. post mittendus² in ignem jam ardet. Christianus vero noster novus et vetus . novus: nomine vetus professione³ . Christo se inhabitante securus jam mundi victor et illius qui in mundo est principis debellator novo Marte nova preliandi arte suos aggreditur vincere victores. Contulerat ei suus rex cui spe recuperandi regni amissi jam diu militaverat . ignem caritatis . quo flatu Sancti Spiritus estuante . victoriam sibi armorum copiam tribulationum mallei super incudem paciencie fabricaverant. Hiis pro amisso quidem regno set celesti non terreno . certare didicerat invictissime sciens quia sicut nullo sine ita nec ullo hoste cum illud obtinisset posset amittere. Appulsus igitur demum in regnum quondam suum periculose quidem habitum set fructuose amissum . armis quibus erat munitus pro regno incomparabiliter meliore viriliter pugnaturus . castrum ingreditur suis copiis fatis aptum. In quadam namque rupe secus Dovram sese recipiens . collegit primum se in se ; deinde descendens a se super se cernebat terram a longe cujus interdum regem quoque oculi sui videbant in suo decore in qua⁴ et cum quo etiam ipse certa spe presumebat regnare. Hic juxta decalogi summam decennium in vite solitarie tyrocinio miles jam emeritus complens . vitalia legis divine pre-

¹ H. ; isti ? Ad, M.G.

² H. ; postmittendus, M.G.

³ H.M. ; professione, G.

⁴ H. ; quo, M.G.

cepta divinius ipse vivendo certabat potius excedere quam implere. Noverat enim id quidem virtutis . hoc esse sanctitatis . inchoacionis illud : istud perfectionis. Illud quoque necessarium hoc censebat gloriosum. Hic denique consilium illic imperium attendebat . hominum pariter salutem et gloriam : zelantis et procurantis Dei. Non vero multum a loco ubi regnum terrenum pene moriendo pridem ipse amiserat. Hic locus aberat ubi vitam sic instituendo degebat . regnoque celorum vim faciendo illud rapiebat. Hic ergo paciencia hic et clemencia viri vires suas exercebant et perdebant . ubi et preteritus suus suorumque lapsus . presensque hostium fastus . memorie necnon . et aspectui suo quo frequencius ingerebatur . eo benignius ad retribuenda retribuendis sibi non mala set pie intercessionis ampla beneficia incitabatur.





*Quod in confinio Wallensium postmodum Haroldus f. 18 b.
pluribus in locis tempore multo degens pacienter
eorum frequencius tulerit assultus . faciem velans
panno et nomen nomine alio ne aliquatenus agnosce-
retur . et quod tandem ad ejus venerationem conversa
est immanitas persecutorum xiiij.*

RECOLENS vero quia et Ualensibus
licet ob justam ut tunc temporis
videbatur gentis sue defensionem
exitisset quandoque infestus . cupit
jam Christianus perferre cum Paulo . quod
egerat quondam Haroldus cum Saulo. Pertendit
igitur Cancie valesciens usque in partes Wallie
multoque ibi diversis in locis moratus tempore:
manebat cum illis et orabat pro illis quem illi non
se jam oppugnantem . sed pro se pugnantem inde-
finenter impugnantem gratis. Accessurus vero ut
premissum est in terram sibi ante cognitam ne
quavis occasione a quolibet agnitus . virtutis
meritum precio vanitatis dum laus oblata jure in
eo laudanda prosequitur vendicaret faciem suam et
nomen proprium omnibus abscondebatur . processurus
in publicum: velamen panniculi jugiter vultui
pretendebat. Nomen requisitus: Christianum se

dici aiebat. Qui enim nominis appellatione universis cicatricum vero suarum inspectione quibusdam innotuerat: vultum simul¹ et vocabulum occultabat. Timebat namque ne forte his indiciis proderetur. Metuebat siquidem ne vel a suis si qui forte supereffe potuissent vel ab alienis quoque si agnosceretur? plaufibus exciperetur seu pristinae dignitatis et moderne humilitatis intuitu: seu etiam domestice necessitudinis aut familiaritatis obtentu. Nec enim timendum erat ne talem etatem seu conversationem agens talem: ab hostibus si proderetur hostiliter tractaretur. et durius quam se ipse construxerat²: per ipsos arctaretur. Non erat incertum tamen quia si eorum notitie exponeretur molestius utique quam eculeis³ et carceribus laudibus ipsorum et preconiiis premeretur. Quis enim tam humilem et mitem. tam benignum et leuem⁴ tam mundi rebus inanem. mundique amatoribus sponte despicabilem videns. presertim si quante olim excellencie quanteque affluentie nec non et potencie fuisset minime lateret. quicquid posset venerationis et honoris non ei devotissime exhiberet? De ejus namque parsimonia et paciencia illud in eo mirabile commendatur quod non tam ad injurias pacienciam quam beneficenciam rependebat et cariosum jam corpusculum refocillabat potius quam reficiebat tenuissimis alimentis. De quo et hoc a quodam religioso admodum Christi ferve accepimus. quia si quando vel exilem pisci-

f. 19.

¹ H.M.; final, G.² H.M.; construxerat, G.³ H.M.; aculeis, G.⁴ H.; lenem, M.G.

culum edebat . nunquam infumpto¹ uno latere
latus reliquum attingebat . aut regirabat . sed vel
ministro vel egeno si affuisset : intactum porrigebat.
Ejus nimirum vir sanctus intencione rigidissima
complexus exemplum cujus sibi nominis vendicarat
participium : maluit temporaliter cum Christo . et
pro Christo jam a Christo dictus Christianus
despici et affligi : quam mundi favoribus et
oblectamentis demulceri . unde et seipsum sevicie
Wallensium ultró duxerat exponendum ponens sibi
ante mentis oculos paschalem Agnum qui sponte
seipsum optulit² impiis sacerdotibus pro nobis
immolandum.

Sicut enim³ Christus ambulavit Christianus
cupiens ambulare Agnum quem forte sequi non
poterat per illibatam carnis mundiciam sequi
festinabat quocumque iret tum per mundi cordis
puritatem . tum per afflictí corporis passionem.
Paciendi namque fervens amore quasi parum
reputans quicquid ipse sibi carnifex asperitatis
intulisset corpori et inedie effere gentis libenter
adivit contubernium . a qua etsi quominus crucifi-
gendum variis tamen modis se noverat affligendum.
Nec secus quam sperabat et optabat : ab infidis
ferinisque homunculis pertulit . verberibus namque
sevisis a latrunculis eorum sepius vehementer
attritus quibus etiam possent dampnis⁴ afficiebatur.

¹ H.M. ; consumpto, G.

² H.M. ; obtulit, G.

³ The use of the ancient diacritical mark of abbreviation for this word (.n.) goes far to shew that the scribe of this MS. was here copying from an original document, quite as old, in point of date, as the actual facts which it proposes to narrate.

⁴ H.M. ; damnis, G.

Fraudabant eum viatico . veste spolabant utque pecunias¹ quas non habebat exhiberet nimis et exquisitis eum cruciatibus et injuriis contorquebant . faciebant talia homines bestiales . quibus apte satis congruit quod de Longobardis sanctus Gregorius ait ; “ Quorum,” inquit,² “ sunt zinzungie³ pene et gratie spate.” Perferebat vero homo Dei univërfa mente placita⁴ . hylari vultu . ore dulciloquo . manu munifica ; nec quievit pietas hujusmodi cum impietate conflictus . quousque illius malum in hujus bono devictum . verecundiam victæ imprimeret . victrici gratiam cumlaret et gloriam . Pascebat etenim ac potabat ut vox monet apostolica inimicos . mulcebat predones beneficiis . mitigabat tortores : miraculo inaudite lenitatis . Congerebat perinde de camino multe caritatis carbones ignis super capita eorum . unde mol[l]ita eorum duricia medullitus demum liquefacta colere cepit . et honorare quem solebat illudere et flagellare . Insistit manus obsequiis . que seviebat plagis . Ingeminat laudes assueta lingua contumeliis . Virtus enim inexperte bonitatis more aromatum quo durius tractabatur forcius redolebat . laciusque diffusa : multis per girum odor vite in

¹ H.M. ; pecunias, G.

² H.M. ; inquit, G.

³ H.M. ; fuzugiæ, G. The reference is to S. Gregorii Magni Epistolarum, lib. i. xxxi. (Migne, vol. lxxvii., fol. 484.) “ quia sicut peccata mea increbantur, non Romanorum, sed Langobardorum episcopus factus sum, quorum synthiciæ spathæ sunt, et gratia pœna.” The annotator writes, “ *Synthiciæ* sunt pacta, conventiones, a Græco συνθήκη. *Spatha*, gladius ; unde *spatharius* ; . . . Sensus igitur est ; Langobardorum pacta, contractus, id est, jura omnia quæ apud Romanos constant ex pactis et contractibus, versantur in vi et ferro.”

⁴ H.M. ; placida, G.

vitam fiebat. Pellebat namque et fugabat spiramen diabolicum nebulosi furoris: a precordiis brutorum licet hominum illapsa sensibus eorum fragrantia suavis sancte illius opinionis. Putares jam plerofque ex hiis: illud ei de canticis affectibus potius quam vocibus concrepare. *In¹ odore unguentorum tuorum currimus anime siquidem nostre dilexerunt te.*

¹ “Oleum affusum nomen tuum; ideo adolescentulæ dilexerunt te. Trahe me: post te curremus in odorem unguentorum tuorum.”—*Cant. Cantt.*, i. 1, 2.





Quod vir Domini Haroldus fugit obsequios quos adierat et diu sustinuerat persequentes et quod voce de celo lapsa designatus sit ei locus p̄ausacionis sue . et quod semiplenis verborum indiciis . sciscitantibus innuerit se fuisse Haroldum et quod scripto successoris sui plenius ostendetur inferius : hujus rei certitudo xv.



AT vir Domini humilitatis profunde cultor amator quietis custos sollicitus utriusque . ne alterutrius boni faltem exiguum admitteret detrimentum : quos persecuturos censuerat expetendos . inclinatos jam ad obsequia decernit fugiendos. Cedebat in eo jam corporei roboris virtus laboribus quidem cedere nescia . sed annis infracta. Crederes olim roborari potius quam infirmari genua ejus a jejunio . clunes et pedes meando agilitatem fumere fatigacionem vix sentire. At jam decrepito experiri erat : quia

“Omnia¹ fert etas.”

Fusa igitur supplici oracione ad Dominum : locum previderi divinitus sibi que jamjam deficienti jam pre sue solius suavissime desiderio

† Stat. Theb., iii. 562.

vifionis precordiali fpiritu languenti folita poftulat benignitate concedi: in quo vite reliquum fub filentio optate quietis tranfigeret . et felici demum exceffu terminaret. Senciens autem per fpiritum benignum Dominum pauperis fui pium exaudiffe defiderium imponi fe fecit vili ju- f. 20.
mento . folitoque contentus miniftro . iter quo illum Dominus deftinare dignaretur aggreditur . pedibus iccirco fubvectus alienis: quia virtus jam aberat fuis. Recedens igitur fcienter nefcius . et fapienter indoctus ductu comitatus angelico . Cef- trenfem demum pervenit ad urbem . Ubi mox die inclinato ad vefperam . mediam ingreffus civitatem: cum manfionis locum miniftrum in- quirere precepiffet: vox repente hujuscemodi auri- bus eorum illabitur . “Vade,” inquit,¹ “vir bone ad ecclefiam fancti Johannis paratam ibi accipies manfionem.” Attonitus ad audita minifter oculo undique circumfpectans curiofo . edite vocis in- quirat prolatores: fed non comparuit. Nimirum angelum Domini bonum qui itinera fua fecum comitatus bene femper difpofuiffet illum feciffe² qui de parata fibi manfione . hec denunciaffet viro Dei non fuit incertum. Ipfe vero more fuo panno ante oculos pendente . et totam pene faciem operiente . afpectum fibi velaverat ne videlicet occurrentibus ob notabilem cicatricum fuarum ob- duccionem ftupori effet . vel fi agnofceretur eciam veneracioni . vel ne ad mentis abdita . fenfibus un- decunque occurrenti pateret aditus vanitati. De- fignant mox digito qui circumftabant ecclefiam

¹ H.M.; inquit, G.² H.M.; fuiſſe, G.

celesti oraculo sibi designatam: accedit . et gratulanter accipitur . hospes celitus destinatus. Migraverat sane ab hac luce de recenti venerabilis anachorita ejusdem loci casulam suam divinitus proviso cedens sanctissimo successori. Suscepit vero letabunda et gaudens . licet quisnam esset . cercius non agnoscens regem suum filia Syon ecclesia videlicet memorata sedentem ignobile quidem subjugale . sanctum tamen et sibi venientem in omnibus salutarem. Ibidem quoque manens a visitantibus se . et que edificacionis erant ab eo reportantibus . frequenter requisitus an bello ubi rex Haroldus occubuisse ferebatur interfuisset: respondebat . “Interfui plane.” Suspicientibus vero nonnullis ne forte ipse esset Haroldus: et curiosius quoad¹ licuit inde sciscitantibus aliquociens² ita de se loquebatur . “Quando apud Hastingas dimicatum est: nullus Haroldo me carior habebatur.” Hujusmodi ut ita dicatur semi-verbis ancipitem de se nulli opinionem firmabat potius in suis conjecturis quam in veritatis certitudine³ confirmabat. Quemadmodum vero rei hujus evidencia universis demum palam innotuerit non nostri sed viri venerabilis quem in ejusdem anachoreseos inhabitatione habuit successorem . verbis inferius exprimetur.

f. 20 b.

¹ H.M.; quoad, G.² H.M.; aliquoties, G.³ H.; certitudinem, M.G.



*Monetur lector ne spernat leccionem quam sentit
a nonnullorum opinionibus discrepare . et de triplici
occasione contraria existimantium super materia pre-
senti et de Willelmi Meldunensis circa Haroldi fata
errore triformi xvj.*

INTERIM vero lectori nostro humiliter
fuggerendum existimo ne ista utēque¹
a nostra² pravitate digesta ducat
spernenda . quia aliter atque aliter
plerosque forsan meminit de hac ipsa . et dixisse et
scripsisse materia. Manifestum enim est quia non
solum plebei relatores immo et illustrissimi rethores³
non modo diversa sed penitus contraria senserunt .
et scripserunt super hiis que facta seu fata Haroldi
contingunt. Convincitur autem tum evidenti
ratione tum et auctoritate non posse esse verum
altrinfecus: quod dissonat. Hoc ipsa quidem
veritate dictante: sanctus dixit Ieronymus.⁴ In
sententiarum vero quas hic ventilamus ratione
triplex poterit a bene considerantibus assignari con-
trarietatis seu quod eciam inficiari nullus debet
falsitatis occasio. In primis equidem perspicuum

¹ H.M. ; utique, G.

² H.M. ; nostra parvitate, G.

³ H.M. ; rhetores, G.

⁴ H.M. ; Hieronymus, G.

est quia in multis rei veritas universos pene diucius latuit. Hinc odium persone . seu favor benevolis : commentandi bona malevolis : similiter mala de incertis configendi : liberam videbatur cessisse facultatem. Hiis facundissimus astipulatur inronicis suis Meldunensis Willelmus¹ promittitque se medium inter obrectantium . necnon et commendantium partes incessurum. Crediderim proculdubio ipsum pro viribus veris instituisse nec justis preconiiis . nec vituperiis . debitis negociorum merita ultro defraudasse. Verum quia audita non eciam visa scribebat hystoriarum lege auctoris veritas tuta est ubi veritas quoque ipsa gestorum : naufragatur. Alias : nec ipsi beatissimi Evangeliorum scriptores periculum falsitatis effugerant. Sic Salvatoris pater dicitur Joseph . sic discipulorum quidam fratres ejus peculiarius ceteris nominantur . non quod verus sed quod putativus eos pater filios habuerit non quidem naturales sed potius adoptivos.

f. 21. Secutus igitur opinionem et vero minus affuetus et iste quod vero jam patet fuisse oppositum : historie sue quamlibet veritati pro viribus innixe agnoscitur indidisse. Ceterum in aliis que de meritis Haroldi vel moribus prout animus tulit aut fama suggestit aureo nunc vero piceo commentatus est stilo venaliter forte exorbitaverit a tramite veri in ipsum vero Christum Domini trunculencius deliquit. Tres enim lanceas in ipsum violentus intorsit . quibus non tam illius personam quam ipsam contigit

¹ The historian William of Malmesbury. The passages alluded to are in his *Gesta Regum*, ed. Hardy, English Historical Society, 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 339, 383-385, 408-420.

impeti veritatem. Dixit eum ictu sagitte: capite vulnerato oppetisse¹. dixit militem qui regi mortuo femur inciderat ducis censura victoris: ab exercitu pulsum.² Retulit a matre funus regium oblata pecunia a triumphatore Willelmo postulatam. sed receptum absque pecunia: apud Waltham tumultatum.³ Sic in femur. sic in caput sic in omne hominis corpus lingua licencius debachatur⁴ oratoris clanculo scriptitantis. quam militis armata manus in propatulo dimicantis. Verum tam a sagitta oris istorum quam et a framea manus illorum liberavit Dominus pauperem et inopem quem et rethoribus⁵ et regibus multis probavit in pluribus pociorem.⁶ Non quidem de omnibus dico dabit Dominus simpliciter gradienti intelligere que scribo. sentire que sentio. Temperancius vero scripsit hujus

¹ "jactu sagittæ violato cerebro procubuit." (W. Malm., *Gesta Regum*, p. 416); "aminus lethali arundine ictus mortem implevit" (*ibid.*)

² "Jacentis femur unus militum gladio proscidit; unde a Willelmo ignominie notatus, quod rem ignavam et pudendam fecisset, militia pulsus est" (*ibid.*)

³ "Corpus Haroldi matri repetenti sine pretio misit, licet illa multum per legatos obtulisset: acceptum itaque apud Waltham sepelivit, quam ipse ecclesiam, ex proprio constructam in honore sancte Crucis, canonicis impleverat." (W. Malm., *Gesta Regum*, p. 420.) To which Hardy adds in a note: "There seems to have been a fabulous story current during the twelfth century that Harold escaped from the battle of Hastings. Giraldus Cambrensis asserts that it was believed Harold had fled from the battlefield, pierced with many wounds, and with the loss of his left eye, and that he ended his days piously at Chester. Both Knighton and Brompton quote this story. W. Pictaviensis says that William refused the body to his mother, who offered its weight in gold for it, ordering it to be buried on the sea coast.

⁴ H.M.; debacchatur, G. ⁵ H.M.; rethoribus, G.

⁶ pocior ē, H.; pocior est, M.; potiorem esse, G.

ipſius ſcriptoris contemporaneus venerabilis admodum abbas Edelredus¹ ſuper hec in vita ſancti predeceſſoris ejus regis Eadwardi.² Dicit quidem aut occubiſſe Haroldum in prelio aut penitencie reſervatum : non ſine vulneribus evaſiſſe.

¹ H.M. ; Ethelredus, G. This refers to Ailred, Abbot of Rievaulx, whoſe work “De Vita et Miraculis Edwardi Confeſſoris” is printed by Twyſden in the *Decem Scriptores*, cols. 369-414. The ſpecial chapter “De Victoria Regis Haroldi per beati Regis merita” is given in cols. 404, 405.

² H.M. ; Edwardi, G.





*Quid accidit Walthammensibus circa patroni sui
sepulturam pie sollicitis sed mulieris cujusdam errore
delusis xvij.*

NON mediocriter tamen id domini
Willelmi aut attenuat in tali errore
offensam: quod apud Waltham gestum
longe lateque percrebuit. Revera
enim ipsos quoque peculiare ac domesticos regis
Walthamenses canonicos infandus hic rumor pre-
occupaverat. In bello siquidem Hastingensi regem
occubuisse ora pene omnium loquebantur. Debite
igitur patrono suo liberalissimo devocionis clerici
non immemores sepediti . quandam sagacis animi f. 21. b.
feminam nomine Editham in partes illas ubi
dimicatum fuerat quantocius miserunt quatinus vel
extincti membra domini sui ad se deferret in sua re-
verentissime basilica sepelienda. Videbatur enim¹
ad hoc attemptandum² . quo imbecillior et in-
favorabilior hic sexus qui et ipsis cruentis lictoribus
minimum suspectus . plurimum vero miserendus
censeretur. Hec autem pre ceteris femina com-

¹ H.M.; enim aptior, G

² H.M.; attentandum, G.

modius videbatur ad hoc destinanda¹ que inter milia² mortuorum illius quem inquirebat eo quoque facilius decerneret eoque benivolentius tractaret exuvias . quo eum arctius amaverat et plenius noverat utpote³ quam thalami ipsius secretis liberius interfuisse constaret. Ad locum vero sedis infausste cum accederet : percepit a multis id nimirum jactabunde diffeminantibus circumquaque Normannis regem Anglorum ignominiose victum cruce semifracto super faciem campi cum interfectis jacere peremptum.

Viderit lector quid verius probet. Alii etenim eos qui feminecem sustulerant regem . hunc quoque rumorem sparsisse existimabant in populo . suo pariter et illius periculo in hoc prospicientes . quibus indubitato foret exicio . si illum vivere : hostis audiret. Inter hec mulieris errorem non mirandum . que defecti . cruentati . jam denigrati . jam fetentis corporis speciem minus discernere valens : pro estimatione publica truncatum cadaver cum aliud non inveniret quod cercius agnosceret regis proprium : rapuit et secum attulit alienum. Quod a canonicis reverenter exceptum : indiscussa rei veritate honeste in ecclesia Sancte Crucis sepulture esse traditum.

¹ H.M. ; destituanda, G.

² H.M. ; millia, G.

³ H.M. ; utque, G.



*Quid frater Haroldi Gurta nomine abbati
Waltero vel aliis responderit super fratris sui
requisitus cineribus vel sepultura . . . xvij.*

XN diebus vero regis Henrici secundi
visus est tam ab ipso rege quam a
magnatibus terre . et populo Gurta
frater Haroldi quem in libro suo
jam dictus hystoriographus tempore adventus
Normannorum aliquid plus puero etatis habuisse
refert prudentia vero animi . et probitate nil distare
a viro. Erat autem jam tunc grandevus valde .
et sicut ea tempestate a multis accepimus qui eum
viderant venustus aspectu . facie decorus . proceri-
tate corporis admodum longus. Hunc vidit etiam *f. 22.*
pie recordacionis canonicorum regularium apud
Waltham abbas primus . dompnus¹ Walterus² . a

¹ H.M. ; dominus, G.

² Waltham, according to Dugdale, *Mon. Angl.*, vi. 57, continued to be a college for about 115 years, according to Harold's foundation, from 1062 to 1177, when Henry I., determined to institute Regular Canons in room of Seculars, "quia clerici seculares, qui ibidem huc usque manserant, mundanis operibus et illecebris illicitis magis quam divino servitio intendebant." Guido or Wido Rufus the Dean, being suspended, resigned in 1174, and in 1177 on the eve of Pentecost, Walter de Gaunt,

quo una cum fratribus sibi adherentibus in curia regis apud Wodefocam¹ diligenter sciscitari studuit utrum revera cineres germani sui in suo ut credebatur monasterio servarentur. Quibus² ille anglice respondit. "Rusticum" ait "quemlibet habere potestis. Haroldum non habetis." Ad locum tamen per seipsum venit crucem sanctam adoraturus. Ostensoque sibi sarcophago³ fratris ut dicebatur: oblique illud intuitus "non" ait "homo scit". sic enim jurabat "non hic jacet Haroldus." Vivat in longum et vigeat in Christo dominus Michael canonicus probate religionis. camerarius ecclesie Walthamensis qui multis astantibus quorum nonnulli adhuc supersunt hec ab hore⁴ viri se audivisse constanter asseverat. Hiis autem pro legencium communione ne perturbet eos varietas incerta scriptorum breviter nec inutiliter ut confidimus prelibatis. jam ut promissimus⁵ viri superius memorati verba ponenda sunt quibus manifeste docetur. qualiter servi sui noticiam Christi benignitas plurimis evidentissime patefaceret indiciiis.

a canon of Osney, was constituted first abbot. He died on the eve of Ascension Day, 1201. The mention of his name here in the text seems to indicate that his decease was recent, and helps to point the MS. to the date which I have assigned to it.

¹ Woodstock, near Oxford.

² On the margin of the MS. a monogram of the word *Nota*, to draw the attention of the reader.

³ H.M.; sarcophago, G.

⁴ H.; ore, M.G.

⁵ H.M.; promissimus, G.



Quod viri dei successor de gestis Haroldi beatissimi vera scribens causas gestorum minus congrue bis assignaverit et prime assignacionis discussio et competens prolatis sententiarum diversarum testimoniis eiusdem improbatio xix.

IN quibus fidelissimi relatoris id quoque verbis perpendendum est quia sicut res gestas luculenter digessit et vere ita gestorum causas minus ut plerisque videri potest convenienter et provide quod pace tanti viri dictum sit exprimere curavit. Ubi illud tertium adverti potest quod contrarietatis occasionem inter scriptores diximus peperisse. Qualitas scilicet mentis seu intelligencia singula queque referencium qui pro sui affeccione animi viri sancti¹ affectum propositumque in hiis que gessit mecientes: quid quare fecerit nisi sunt assignatis racionibus intimare. Quorum sensa scribencium credulitas incaucius exprimendo facta plerumque insignia. interpretacione non vera fuscavit. Quod non semel sed secundo bono huic viro in sue

¹ H. ; sanctissimi, M.G.

narracionis ferie illis videtur accidisse . qui rationi
 perspicue nec non aliorum opinioni amplius inni-
 tentes eorum videlicet qui fervo domini familiarius
 f 22 b) adheferant ipsius quodam modo intimam mentis
 ymaginem cordibus suis alcius impressere. Que
 vero illa sint quibus minus adquiescit ipse ut
 creditur tenor veritatis opere precium est breviter
 discutere . quo simplicioribus pro posse auditoribus
 vim discrecionis aperientes . omnem dubietatis
 caliginem de medio auferamus. Dicit igitur
 memoratus vir de sancto tunc peregrinante ita.
 Postmodum quia natalis soli semper dulcis esse
 solet inhabitacio: ad Angliam cujus antea rex
 extiterat concito properavit. Cum autem sapi-
 entum diffinitione tritum sit: quia infirmus est
 adhuc cui patria sua dulcis est . fortis vero jam .
 cum omne solum patria est . perfectus quoque cui
 omne solum exilium est . cui non pateat absurde
 dici virum ut ipse dicit senectute aridum . diutur-
 nitate itineris utique religiosi confractum . natalis
 soli ut repatriaret dulcedine attractum? Dicente
 insuper Domino ad Abraham: *Ingrede*¹ *de tera*²
tua . itemque in psalmo . *Obliviscere*³ *populum*
tuum et domum patris tui. Quem etate minorem
 animi firmitate . et sanctitate meriti . inferiorem
 pariter et imbecilliolem . tenere non potuit terre
 sue . populi sui . domusque paterne dulcedo aut
 memoria duceret jam vel attraheret in omnibus

¹ H.M.; Egrede, G. Gen. xii. 1.

² H.; terra, M.G. The MS. originally had the word *dextera* written in error, the *x* being now erased.

³ Psalm. xlv. 11.

hiis quo proveccioem eo proculdubio et perfectioem. Aut hanc omiffam olim dulcedinem corde ruminanti non continuo illud evangelicum auribus interioris hominis forcius inthonaret:¹ *Nemo² mittens manum suam ad aratrum . et respiciens retro aptus est regno Dei?* Nec vero perpendit fcriptor pius quale tunc fuerit illud ejus natale folum qualiter immutatum quam fibi fuisque infestum quam omni jam fui refpectu . et fi mollioribus adhuc duceretur affectibus . effe poffet eciam grave fibi ad videndum.

¹ H.M. ; inthonaret, G.

² Luc. ix. 62.





*Secunde assignacionis infirmacio et scriptoris ad
lectorem deprecacio et de difficultate materiam
resarciendi a priscis scriptoribus varie lacera-
tam xx.*



NEC satis validiore¹ paulo inferius ra-
cione fulcitur ubi causam allegat
qua Cestriam aditurus deseruit Salo-
peffynam. Refert eum ne tribulacio
exterior interioris hominis quietem a modera-
minis sui statu deiceret locum illum deseruisse in
quo . sicut idem perhibet vehementer . et sepissime
a Wallensibus dampnis² et verberibus afflictus .
septennio³ quietus in se: et Domino humiliter
f. 23. gracias agens: visus est permanfisse. Que profecto
sentencia alia nichilominus⁴ adhibita consideracione
deprehenditur esse invalida excepta illorum quoque
tradicione qui eum fines Wallensium ob hanc
ipsam racionem inhabitasse affirmant: quatinus
pateretur ab illis quos gravissima olim populacione
attriverat quamlibet iusta ut putabatur de causa:

¹ validi ore, H. ; validiore, M.G.

² H.M. ; dampnis, G.

³ H. ; septennio, M.G.

⁴ H.M. ; nihilominus, G.

quicquid eum perpeti cuncta suaviter disponentis Dei clemens dispensatio permisisset. Si enim declinande infestationis illius obtentu sedem mutare decrevisset: fecisset hoc utique citius nec tociens dampnis¹ et verberibus: affligi expectasset. Nec enim inscius erat in oris eorum in quorum olim medio . triennali ut fertur expeditione hyemando . nimio ipsorum periculo intus et in cute ut dicitur eos noverat. Fuit hec quando adhuc comes tanta eos virtute perdomuit . peneque delevit . quanta omnium sequencium usque in presens regum vires nequivere.

Tanti enim roboris fuisse perhibetur cum fuerit audacia singularis: ut sicut legimus in bello quoque Normannorum nullus ad eum armatorum accesserit hostium quin statim primo ictu equum et equitem deiceret lethaliter fauciatos.² Quam adeo mirabilem . jam mutaverat fortitudinem sperans in domino . pennis assumptis volans . et nusquam in volatu deficiens. Hoc autem solum volatili tam forti jam erat formidini ne favoris scilicet mundani visco suarum aliquatenus pennarum virtus infirmaretur fieretque infirmus et non tam volucrum quas pascit Deus quam illorum hominum similis quos pascit ventus³: si sibi septem Sampsonis crines adulacionis novacula raderentur. Id solum ergo fugit quod solum formidavit non sane Wallensis telum sed peccatoris oleum. Sciebat Wallenses: ignotos habere suspicacioni . in religione probatos

¹ H.M.; toties damnis, G.

² On the margin of the MS. a monogram of the word *Nota*.

³ Cf. Milton, *Lycidas*, "But swoln with wind," etc.

veneracioni . ideoque illorum aspernari contubernia . istorum admirari. Vir autem domini hinc quidem justus et fortis . illic prudens et temperans: aspernantes fortiter expecit . ut quod meruisse se timuit malum iuste pateretur . admirantes prudenter deseruit . ne temperate mediocritatis bono privaretur. Meminit quia olivam pulchram¹ uberem² fructiferam . a facie vocis grandis: subito juxta prophetam combussit ignis: quamobrem voluit ambulare cum magnis . neque in mirabilibus super se. Quos ergo diu sustinuerat supra dorsum suum fabricantes: peccatores subterfugit . caput sibi impugnare festinantes.

Set jam finem sermo flagitat . liber claudendus est ut que de Haroldo innotescere necesse est: illorum qui hec plenius agnoverunt stilus evolvat. Benivolum³ vero lectorem in sui calce libellus iste finali clausula semper habeat exoratum . quatinus sui auctoris excessus piis precibus dignetur expiare secumque sancti Regis Haroldi opitulante intercessione ad portum salutis eterne ipsum pariter optineat⁴ pervenire . Multiloquio etiam in presenti opusculo scriptoris eo clemencius indulgeat veniam quod⁵ difficilius fuisse conspicit propositum⁶ materiam tot prius veterum studiis auctorum difficillam multipliciter et dilaceratam refarcire quodam modo et innovare ac vetustam . ut ita dicatur ci[m]bam⁷ et conquassatam inter famosos hystori-

¹ H.M.; pulcram, G.

² H.M.; uberem, uberem, G.

³ H.M.; Benevolum, G.

⁴ H.M.; obtineat, G.

⁵ H.M.; quo, G.

⁶ H.M.; propositam, G.

⁷ cibū, altered to cibā, H.; cibum, M.; cymbam, G.

arum scopulos in aduersum eciam undique nitentibus
tanquam ventis . obtrectantium linguis et litteris .
ad destinatam perduxisse stationem. Sit autem
Deo adiutori nostro omnis honor et gloria . qui
trinus et unus solus imperat benedictus laudabilis
gloriosus et superexaltatus in secula. Amen.





NARRATIO INCLUSI QUI SANCTO SUCCESSIT HAROLDO DE TRANSITU IPSIUS SANCTISSIMI REGIS ET DE MIRACULIS PER EUM PATRATIS POSTQUAM MIGRAVIT AD DOMINUM PREMISSA RELACIONE COMPENDIOSA DE HIIS QUE GESSIT AC PERTULIT EX QUO TERRENUM AMISIT IMPERIUM.



SCRIPTUM est quoniam *tribulatio¹ pacienciam operatur paciencia: probationem . probacio vero: spem.* Ad probationem paciencie . et sancte spei confirmacionem . permittit quandoque Deus suos tribulari in presenti ut liberet a tribulacione perhenni . unde et virum venerabilem Haroldum regem quondam Anglorum permisit in tempore tribulari . et ab hostibus superari et a regno suo eici² . ne de victoria prius habita superbiret . et in regnum elevatus . prosperitatis occasione amorem divinum postponeret . set in paupertate positus sanctius et beacius viveret dum a terrenis occupationibus animum omnino liberum haberet. Igitur

¹ I Rom. v. 3, 4.

² H.M. ; ejici, G.

post regni sui amissionem et plagarum suarum quas a Normannis pertulerat curacionem . tanquam peregrinus ad loca sancta per terras multas tunc¹ f. 24. arripuit . et diu in tali peregrinacione propter Deum laboravit. Postmodum vero senectute aridus . et diuturnitate itineris confractus fatigato corpori alterius modi religionem indicere studuit. Set quia natalis soli semper dulcis esse solet inhabitacio : ad Angliam cujus ante rex extitit concito properavit . ut ibi pauper et vilis: et habitu humilis: residuum vite sue percurreret: ubi quondam rex dives et sublimis . in vestibus amictus preciosis . floruerat . et tanto apud Deum ejus cresceret meritum . quanto benigniorem gereret animum quod cotidie² posset adversarios suos intueri . et in regno quod amiserat prosperari et secundum preceptum Domini pro eis Deum fideliter deprecari. Postquam natalis soli fines attigit eremitice vite solitudinem elegit et ibi in pluribus locis conversatus ab omnibus incognitus usque quo cunctis terrenis extremum valefaceret fideliter Deo ministravit. Non autem animi levitate facta est ab eo locorum mutacio . set querebat ubi quiescit ferviret Deo. Habuit autem idem vir nobilis ministrum quondam Moysem nomine . qui michi qui hec scribo incluso in eodem loco apud Cestriam ubi dominus Haroldus heremita et amicus Dei obiit: per biennium ministravit. Eodem vero Moyse . et viris fidelibus referentibus

¹ H. ; iter, M.G. This passage clearly shows that G. copied M., and did not collate his text upon the MS. itself.

² H.M. ; quotidie, G.

ea que fecuntur multa tamen pretermittens breviter et fideliter narrabo. Pervenit autem tandem vir Domini ad Salopeffyra¹ scilicet ad territorium quod Cefwrthin² nominatur . et ibi per septennium eodem Moyse illi ministrante heremiticam³ vitam ducens valde inquietabatur a latronibus Wallensibus . et dampnis et verberibus vehementer et sepissime affligebatur. Que omnia pacienter sustinuit . in omnibus gracias Deo humiliter exhibuit. Set tamen postmodum ne tribulacio exterior interioris hominis quietem³ a moderaminis sui statu deiceret :⁴ locum

¹ H. ; Salopeffyra[m], M. ; Salopeffyræ, G.

² H. ; Cefwrthm, M.G. Michel makes no attempt to seek for this place ; Giles contents himself with saying, "The situation of this place has not been identified." There can, however, be no doubt that "*Cefwrthin*" is identical with *Chefwardine*, a parish in the hundred of North Bradford, in the northern division of the county of Salop, four miles south-east of Market Drayton. The church is dedicated to St. Swithin. According to Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, x. 28, etc., Domesday Book enters the manor of Cifeworde-and-Ceppecanole, now Chipnall, in the Staffordshire hundred of Pireholle, held immediately of the king by Robert de Stafford. The celebrated Countess Godiva held it at the time of Harold's hermitage there. The name has been variously spelled Chefewurda, Chefworda, Chefwordyn, Chefworth, Chefew'rthin, Chefeword, and so forth. It passed into possession of the great family of Le Strange, but Eyton was unaware of the mention of the place in this MS. John Le Strange granted the advowson of the church to Haughmond Abbey. There does not appear to be extant any documentary evidence showing the exact time when the manor passed out of the county of Stafford and was accounted to be in Shropshire, but from the text of this passage it is clear that this had already taken place before the writing of the MS. Eyton shows incidentally that it must have been at some period between 1189 and 1255 ; at the latter date it enters as a parcel of Bradford hundred in the roll of that hundred.

³ quietem, omitted, M.G.

⁴ H.M. ; deiceret, G.

illum deseruit . et predicto ministro ejus subsequente . Cestriam profectus est. Ibi in capella sancti Jacobi que sita est super fluvium De appellatum : extra muros civitatis in cimeterio¹ sancti Johannis Baptiste per septennium : scilicet usque ad mortem . heremitice vivens religiosissime conversabatur. Utebatur autem ad nudum tamdiu lorica : quousque tota putresceret . et omnino consumpta videretur. Scissuras vero ejus . et portiunculas dissolutas ministro suo Moyfi imperavit ut in fluvium de secreto proiceret² . ne ipsum ea fuisse usum alicui hominum pateret. Castissimus quidem fuit corpore . et continens corde humilis et prudens. Cujus condicionis esset semper occultabat ne forte in nimia ab hominibus veneracione haberetur . unde animus elatus a rectitudinis tramite laberetur . et apud Deum humilitatis ipsius meritum minueretur. Raro quidem capella exiit sed oracioni assidue intendit perficiens quod dominus ait. *Quia oportet³ semper orare et non deficere.* Ante oculos suos semper pannum pendentem habuit . qui totam fere faciem velabat ita quod longiuscule iturus ductoris manu indigebat. Quare autem hoc fecerit . minister ejus ignorabat . sed forte hoc agebat ne vultus defecti cicatricum appareret obduccio . vel ne ad cor ejus pateret aditus secularibus vanitatibus dum oculis liber concederetur egressus vel ne ab aliquibus qui eum prius viderant veraciter agnosceretur et ab hominibus veneraretur.

¹ H.M. ; cæmeterio, G.

² H.M. ; projiceret, G.

³ Luc. xviii. 1.



DE EXITU EXTREMO HAROLDI.



PPROPINQUANTE autem die exitus venerabilis¹ viri Haroldi perventum. est ad hoc quod extreme necessitatis urgente articulo vir sanctus viatici salutaris indigeret solacio . Unde accedens sacerdos . quem ego bene novi Andreas nomine . de ecclesia sancti Johannis . infirmum visitabat et illi quicquid² mos exigit Christianus devote exhibebat. Extremam vero ipsius audiens confessionem eum interrogavit cujus condicionis vir fuerit. Cui ille . “Si michi dixeris in verbo Domini quod me vivente quod tibi dixero nulli propalabis³ satisfaciam rationi tue interrogationis.” Cui sacerdos. “In periculo anime mee dico tibi quod quicquid mihi dixeris omnibus erit incognitum . usque quo extremum efflaveris halitum.” Tum ille . “Verum est quod rex fui quondam Anglie Haroldus nomine . nunc autem pauper et jacens in cinere . et ut celarem nomen meum appellari me feci nomine Christianum.”

¹ H.M. ; venerabiliis, G.

² H. ; quicquid, M.G.

³ H.G. ; propalatis, M.

Non diu post hec emisit spiritum : et jam omnium hostium suorum victor migravit ad dominum. Sacerdos vero statim omnibus nunciavit . quod ei vir Dei in extrema confessione intimavit et ipsum esse certissime re¹

¹ Here the MS. ends abruptly at the foot of the page—rc[gem Haroldum] . . . M.



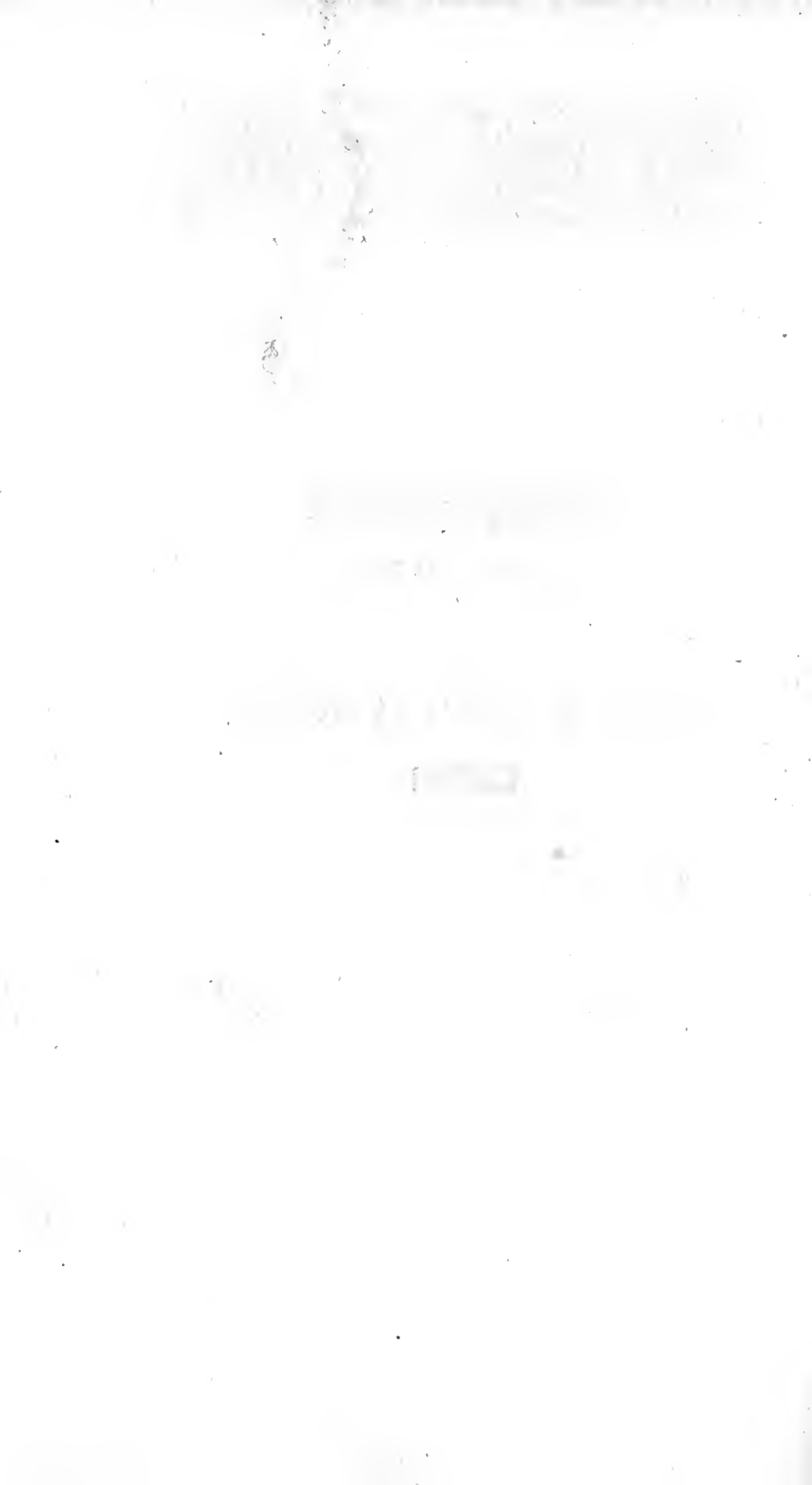




TRANSLATION.

THE
LIFE OF KING HAROLD.







PROLOGUE TO THE LIFE OF THE VENERABLE
HERO HAROLD, FORMERLY KING OF THE
ENGLISH.

JUST as the Holy Scriptures commend the builders of the ark of the covenant under the dispensation of Moses, and of the temple of the Lord under that of Solomon, so also do they deem those men worthy of praise who have faithfully laboured with earnest devotion to offer or prepare things which are necessary for the building. According to Nehemiah, those who derided the builders are overthrown with a terrible imprecation; the rebuilders of Jerusalem, having been rewarded with hereditary titles by Ezra, sanctified an everlasting remembrance of their name and their work to their posterity. Such a consideration, I truly confess, vehemently stimulated my insignificance, although it is of slender value and of tottering strength, to contribute some kind of assistance to the holy work in which ye toil, reverend fathers. There is added to this stimula-

tion, moreover, as the turn runs already beyond measure, on the one side a brotherly request with friendly persuasion, on the other side an anxious admonishing with a paternal command. I feel, indeed, that it is a work full of labour, yet I trust it is replenished with its own reward, and that it is the performing of your wishes and the outcome of our own eagerness. But the pains of a little space of time are rightly to be undergone and accepted, with the height of our strength, when in return we are rewarded, not by the applause of a frail and fleeting age, but rather by that of a praise and glory which will endure in that place where an eternal honour and splendour is obtained. Nevertheless, although to have looked for the reward of transitory praise for one's labour on one's work, is to have lost one's trouble and one's task, in the same way to accept the attraction of a favour, not indeed sought for, although freely bestowed, is to have deprived one's self of the reward of internal self-consciousness and of the praise of the eternal Judge. For we must bear in mind how applicable to such a position is that declaration couched in these words: Amen, I say unto you, they have received their reward.

Your fatherly authority, then, orders, and your brotherly love begs, me to take every watchful care, with assistance gathered together on all sides, to promote a remarkable work which, begun indeed excellently, and worthily carried on, ye do urgently press forward to a praiseworthy termination, lest by chance any store of things needful

for the completion of this undertaking should be wanting to the dutiful task. For ye do truly desire that a work of remarkable character such as this is, cast in the form of a single book, and compiled from various records written by our fathers, and studiously worked out to the praise, and concerning the praise, of the glorious and God-bearing Cross, with the memorable deeds of your founder (whose memory we do cheerfully bless), should be rendered famous, and that a task dedicated in this way should be completed with such a cheer, so to speak. The desire of your holiness is praiseworthy, without doubt, because it is the result of your devotion, and because it has a good end in view. For it is, indeed, a mark of no undue devotion of yours, that you earnestly desire, by the medium of a literary composition, to hand down faithfully to a posterity which is about to be born, the great deeds of so great a hero. For, of a truth, ye are held bound, by just such a right, to illustrate by due praise of his virtues, the merits of your own proper patron and everlasting benefactor, as on the other hand ye might so be, not unduly, accused of the crime of ingratitude, if you, his guardians and his nurslings, were by your silence to rob posterity of any knowledge of the especially deserving notices of his praise. It cannot be denied that it is the duty of that excellent prudence of yours, to decree that the praises of one who was a most devout worshipper of the Holy Cross, must be sounded. For, indeed, whatever commenda-

tion is deserved by the merits and virtues of its servant, really belongs altogether to the glory of that Holy Cross.

And in all this, who does not know how eager my moderate abilities are, in no idle spirit to set to work at prosecuting so good a book with a liberal spirit, willingly employing whatever my strength can propose—yea, rather whatever God's grace can endow me with? If I eat the bread of idleness, which belongs to you, or rather to Harold—yea, much rather to the Holy Cross of you both—the more I behold your serene faces looking at me, so much the more ought I properly to dread a severer condemnation at your hands, if—which God forbid—it should chance that I be found, I will not say ungrateful, but careless, after being endowed with so many benefits, freely and graciously bestowed as they indeed are. I will, therefore, comply to the utmost of my ability with your wishes. I will show the greatest possible gratitude for your kindness, provided that you on your part keep to your agreement with me. That is, that you diligently scrutinize the contents of my writings, and having examined them, then and then only approve or correct them; rejecting the unpolished and badly expressed diction, but reserving, if you think right, the idea, to be expressed as it should be, in a more elegant style. For under God's guidance, the holy band of which you are members, is not lacking in highly educated successors of Bezeleel, Aholiab, or Hiram, men who knew well how to employ, in suitable

places and fitting uses, the raw material offered up by a simple-minded congregation as gifts to the Lord. They knew, too, how with the hand of a master, and in accordance with the circumstances of the occasion, to polish each separate article as deftly as possible, to prune off the superfluous, to arrange the things wanting in order, to adorn the things that were shapeless. But all that my want of skill can venture to undertake, is to hew out from the mountain-side, and place upon rafts, a quarry in some small degree prepared for a fabric, and to pilot it down the stream to more convenient sites, and I shall feel that I have done this when I have handed down, in obedience to your injunctions, a series of notices which are calculated to benefit the simple who will take the trouble to study them, gathered together from ancient books, from current writings, from true accounts of the faithful, be they who they may, and gleaned so as to form the principal points of interest in this work. So may the gentle and placid breeze of your prayers waft into the harbour of a favourable shore the fragile bark of my composition, rigged as it is with the banner of the Cross for its sail, and the prayers of its faithfulness for its figurehead. Amen.

END OF THE PROLOGUE.





HERE BEGIN THE CHAPTERS.

I. WHAT a mirror of cheerfulness and gentleness shines forth in the acts of King HAROLD. How he was the brother of the Queen, whom the holy Edward married. How his father Godwin, escaping the snare of King Canute, received the latter's sister to wife; and how Harold signally triumphed over the vices of those who brought him up.

II. How Wales was nearly destroyed by Harold; and how he recovered from paralysis by the virtue of the Holy Cross of Waltham.

III. How Harold built, enriched, adorned, and regulated the Church of the Holy Cross at Waltham; and how Henry, King of the English, abolished the secular canons, and distinguished the place by the appointment of regular canons.

IV. How it was divinely ordained that this man should be raised to the position of King, and, after having defeated his enemies, should in his turn be conquered by other enemies and deposed from his kingdom; and concerning a very pious

anchorite, who had been a servant of Harold after he became a hermit himself.

V. How a certain Saracen woman found him half dead amongst his assailants, brought him to Winchester, and healed him as he lay there concealed for two years; and how he sought out the Saxons and Danes to collect allies against the Normans, but was unsuccessful.

VI. How at length, coming to himself, he perceived that God was opposing him in his worldly path; wherefore, conforming himself to the Cross of Christ that he might the better triumph over the old enemy, he rejoices that he has suffered defeat at the hands of men.

VII. How he entered on a long pilgrimage to obtain the prayers of holy men; and how, before he became a King, he visited the resting-places of the holy Apostles.

VIII. The admiration of the writer, with a brief exclamation on the goodness of God, by which it happens that the sins even of the elect work in them for good.

IX. How many things are said by many people about Harold's sin; and concerning the oak hard by Rouen, under which he made the oath, which remains, though stripped of its bark, to this day.

X. The excuse some make for Harold, whereby, exonerating him from perjury, they assert that it was with the sanction of God and consent of the

holy Edward that he became King; and concerning the vision of the Abbot Elfinus, in which the holy Edward declared that Harold should be conqueror over the Norwegians.

XI. A wonderful account concerning a Holy Cross which is alleged to have bowed its head to Harold as he was hastening to battle, and certain other very astounding miracles concerning this Cross, proved to be undoubtedly true.

XII. Different interpretations of different men concerning the above-mentioned signs of the bowing Cross and the withered oak; and how Harold, by judging himself favourably, anticipated the divine judgment and fears not man's.

XIII. How, after many years spent abroad, Harold, returning to England for the purpose of exercising his patience and meekness, caused himself to be called CHRISTIAN, and lived ten years in certain rock in solitude; with a short invective against the Antichrists of that time.

XIV. How Harold afterwards spent a long time in various places on the borders of the Welsh, bore their repeated assaults in patience, hiding his face with a cloth, and changing his name for another lest he should by some means be recognised; how at length the cruelty of his persecutors was changed into veneration for him.

XV. How Harold, the man of God, avoided the obsequious who persecuted him, whom he had approached, and long borne with; and how a place of rest was appointed for him by a voice that fell

from heaven ; and how he hinted in ambiguous words to those who asked him that he was Harold ; and how the truth of the matter will be shown more fully in the account given by his successor.

XVI. The reader is advised not to despise the reading which he feels differs from the opinions of some ; and concerning the three occasions of those who think differently about this present subject ; and concerning the threefold mistake of William of Malmesbury on the fate of Harold.

XVII. What happened to the people of Waltham in their holy anxiety concerning the burial of their patron ; and how they were misled by a woman's mistake.

XVIII. How a brother of Harold, Gurth by name, replied to Walter the Abbot, or others, when asked concerning the ashes or the burial of his brother.

XIX. How the successor of the man of God, writing a true account of the deeds of the most blessed Harold, has on two occasions assigned inappropriate reasons for his actions ; with a discussion on the first reason, and a full disproof of the same by the production of the evidence of various opinions.

XX. The weakness of the second reason assigned, and the writer's warning to the reader ; and on the difficulty of patching up materials torn indiscriminately by ancient writers.

HERE END THE CHAPTERS.



HERE BEGINS THE LIFE OF HAROLD, SERVANT
OF GOD, FORMERLY KING OF THE ENGLISH.

CHAP. I.—What a mirror of cheerfulness and gentleness shines forth in the acts of King Harold. How he was the brother of the Queen, whom the holy Edward married. How his father Godwin, escaping the snare of King Canute, received the latter's sister to wife; and how Harold signally triumphed over the vices of those who brought him up.



TO review the actions of the most illustrious and rightfully appointed King HAROLD, at this time duly and lawfully crowned, is nothing else than to display to pious minds a most brilliant reflection of a divine serenity and meekness. And that this may the more clearly appear we will take care to show forth to our readers clearly and briefly the beginning, progress, and ending of his warfare with the world and with Christ. We shall, indeed, have spoken truth when we called him a king most illustrious and lawfully crowned, for by ruling

himself aright and by submitting himself humbly to Him, to serve whom is to be a king, he obtained first a crown of justice, and afterwards a crown of eternal glory. Godwin, a most powerful Earl, begat him from a sister of Canute, King of the English and the Danes, which Harold was brother indeed of the revered Queen whom the King and most holy confessor Edward had married. And although she had been united in an auspicious marriage with him, yet short of consummation, and though both of them, forsooth, preserved their flower of perpetual maidenhood, she was yet a cause of much preferment to her father's family. It is plain, however, that her father, or some of the other members of her family, had been heavily branded with the mark of treason and other crimes.

Godwin, indeed, first entangled himself in these misdeeds, from the necessity of averting an imminent destruction, but afterwards he wanders farther in deceit. Compelled to use deceit under pretence of ensuring his own safety, while once he yields to his wishes, he afterwards committed fraud more freely when he saw his prosperity declining. For when the above-mentioned King of Denmark had usurped the diadem of England, and he saw that Godwin, a man endued with incredible cunning, and no less audacity, was gradually rising to a high position, he himself, a foreigner, began to fear the bold spirit of this young native, armed as it was with power and craft. And although he had found his industry very useful to him on many occasions, yet conceiving in his mind something of

the spirit of Saul, he determined to ruin by trickery this most strenuous despoiler and champion, since it was not easy to crush him openly except by spiteful malice. Having thought out, therefore, a plan, he sends Godwin into Denmark, as if on important business concerning both kingdoms, having in his heart some such thought as this: "Let not my hand be upon him, but the hand of the Danes." Now as he was sailing along in mid-ocean, in a vessel fitted with the most lavish appointments, a suspicion began to agitate the mind of the youth. For he was bearer of letters sealed with the King's signet, one for each of the chief men of that country, the contents of which he was quite ignorant. Breaking, therefore, carefully one of the seals, he learnt from the brief enclosure that he would be shortly given over to the punishment of death, when he arrived in port, if he were to discharge any further his duty as letter-carrier. For the tenour of the writing was that whoever should first learn the contents of the letter, was immediately to strike off the head of its bearer, Godwin by name.

This new Uriah grew pale when he found that his destruction was being compassed by the King, and prepares (to make a long story short) to escape the trick by another trick. This is what he did: he broke open and took out each letter from its seal, and substituted a fresh letter written by the clever hand of a clerk, the substance of which was that Godwin was to be received with great and universal rejoicings; to receive in marriage the

King's sister, and that they all were to yield him obedience in what concerned the King's business, as they would the King himself if he were present. Thus the King's command was changed to the King's advantage. Thus the soldier changes his soldier's pay; thus an undeserved punishment is unaccomplished, and a glory that is deserved accrues to him who earned it; thus at length the King receives as a brother him whom he had hitherto found but a useful soldier, and making him soon after a state officer, found in him for the future an ever-watchful and prudent minister.

Though Godwin was received with much favour by the Danes by this occurrence, yet he came to be on ill terms with many of his own family; and some members also of the royal family he destroyed by treachery, of whom one was the brother of the holy Edward: and thus not only against his fellow-countrymen, but also against his natural lords he committed not a few offences. But on this matter let him who wishes to know seek elsewhere. As far as pertains to the subject in hand, it is enough that we have just briefly touched on such things, lest we should seem to have passed over, without consideration, those other matters which we know that people, who understand little about them, have perverted to the discredit of Harold, the servant of God, for wise men see aright that these things pertain in the highest degree to his renown. For he who, by divine favour, has overcome a vice which, as they would have it, nature has inflicted, and which social

habits have formed, has certainly gained a greater victory in that he has overcome and got rid of the self-same vice in which he was born and reared; for though Harold even, it is asserted, seems to have given way to vice in his youth, he was considered to have suffered violence by his nature and rearing. It is plain, then, that, by the help of Him who from the same lump of clay makes one vessel to honour and another to dishonour, this circumstance, which had been cast up against him to his discredit by ignorant men, was turned by Harold to his virtue's benefit, and to the advancement of his honour. Thus a thorn brings forth bright red roses, and produces, so to speak, snow-white lilies, from whose natural functions the meaner property of the thorn subtracts not, but rather adds to it, from the combination, an increase of beauty.





CHAP. II.—How Wales was nearly destroyed by Harold; and how he recovered from paralysis by the virtue of the Holy Cross of Waltham.

BUT how Harold excelled in strength of body, and how famous he became for shrewdness of mind and vigour in arms, was proved by the way he subdued Wales—aye, and nearly destroyed it to extermination. These victories gave him a conspicuous position even during the lifetime of the holy Edward; and through them he acquired, by his bravery, a peace and tranquillity most serviceable to the King and the whole kingdom.

Meanwhile, though he seemed to be greater than his contemporaries in uprightness and power, and even seemed to outshine the highest princes of the kingdom, the hand of the Almighty, which strikes as well as heals, afflicted his flesh with a grievous stroke, in order that he might obtain by his present and future wounds a remedy for his soul. Physicians call paralysis that species of disease by which a man's body, when affected by it,

forgets its proper functions, and deprives him of his accustomed duties, for it suddenly renders the part which it has attacked, or the whole of the body, senseless, torpid, and, as it were, dead. Harold, suddenly attacked and prostrated by this affliction, becomes an occasion of an extraordinary sorrow, for all people grieved for him, especially the King; for the latter, as if by some presentiment of future things, loved Harold, and held him dear beyond all others, though it is said that he looked on some members of that family with a certain degree of suspicion and hatred. And it was not the nearness of kinship, pleasant though it was, nor that excellence of honour and singular industry with which he was endowed, but simply a divine inspiration which, it is thought, produced in this most pious King's mind such a predilection and favour towards Harold. It tends, indeed, to Harold's honour at this period, that a man, full of God, and not ignorant on many occasions of the divine purpose, should love him, and love him the more intensely that he foresaw that Harold should be an everlasting co-heir with him in heaven, rather than his temporary successor on earth. Therefore the King's own special physicians, besides others selected from all quarters by entreaty or payment, gather round the sick man, and try everything that art or conjecture can suggest, but the power of man cannot put aside the hand of the Almighty.

The sad news reached the ears of the King of the Alemanni, who was both near akin to the

King and closely united to him in affection and friendship. At his Court there dwelt a certain physician named Ailard, a man most trusted by reason of his double practice in the art, as well great skill as experience, but, what is of greater value, the grace of God showed him much favour in effecting the cure of the sick. Him therefore the Emperor resolved to send with all speed to his dear friend the King, that he might apply his cure to the vigorous young man. On being led to the sick man Ailard carefully examined the nature of the illness, and devoted every attention to him; but every labour is of no avail when a heavenly worker operates in opposition to the art of man.

At that time a stone figure of our crucified King had recently been revealed and discovered by the heavenly direction, which, having been brought by God's desire to Waltham, was famous in that place for its miraculous virtues. The physician therefore, after consideration, perceiving that the Author of Nature was acting in opposition to the powers of Nature's art, and that the whole system of the lower nature was being thoroughly deadened by the counteracting influences of Him who created nature, forthwith concluded that the man was being afflicted by a stroke of His power, from whose hand there is none who can deliver. And soon, as became a trustworthy and prudent man, he did not delay, as he was unable to cure him by his hand, to procure a remedy by his mouth. For, unlike deceitful and lying doctors,

he was willing that the help which he already felt could not be given by him should be obtained from other sources. He did not, however, leave the sick man in despair, but directing him from a hope that was vain to a hope that was well founded, he persuaded him to put his hope in Him who is the salvation of them who trust faithfully in Him. And that he might the quicker deserve to taste the joys of a much-desired health, he exhorts him for his profit to attend to the offices of the Cross which giveth salvation, and to vow a vow to it, as his inward devotion might dictate to him.

The sick man listened to the plan for his recovery in a sensible spirit, and sends with all haste to the place where the miraculous Cross displayed its mighty gifts. He prays with great earnestness that the guardians of the place, whose peculiar duty it was to minister at the health-giving symbol, would deign to obtain for him by their hearty prayers pardon for his sins and alleviation of his sufferings; in a word, health for both the inner and outer man. Nor was the mercy of the Saviour long wanting to him who asked for health with a faith unfeigned, for soon the pain and weakness of his body grew less; but as he became stronger his love and devotion for the observances of the Holy Cross wonderfully increased. And thus restored in a short time to perfect health, he proved by acts of magnificence how indebted and devoted he was to the medicine by which he had regained his health. For coming to the Holy Cross of Waltham, he paid the vows

he had made for his health, offered costly presents, gave rich gifts to the attendants, commending himself to the guardianship of that glorious Cross, and intending to endow it with still more exalted honour. Rejoiced, he at length departed from the place in body, but not in spirit, and presented himself safe and sound to the King, and to the Queen his sister. The Queen congratulates her brother: the King rejoices with his soldier: the whole Court is glad with a joyous exultation, not because Harold had recovered his health, but because it was from Heaven he had recovered it. All, indeed, with one mind applauded; but the King, as he was holiest, rejoices with greater feeling. He indeed excelled all others in a double joy, because he was wont to find delight in the virtues of Christ, who brings to pass such holy works, and to feed on those advances of devotion and faith which the accomplishment of such miracles was calculated to strengthen in the love of the same most Holy Redeemer.





CHAP. III.—How Harold built, enriched, adorned, and regulated the Church of the Holy Cross at Waltham; and how Henry, King of the English, abolished the secular canons, and distinguished the place by the appointment of regular canons.



UT now observe that this man, in whom and through whom a virtue, thus experienced and displayed, gave to so many an incentive to a virtuous life, could think or speak of nothing else but how he could make an excellent and fitting return for such divine benefits, and how he could, in compensation, give joy to that holy Cross with an honour worthy of a health restored. But in proportion as he applied himself more zealously for the Cross's honour, and strove for its glory, so much the more exceedingly did the favour of Heaven enrich him with increase of virtues and devotion, with which manner of exchange he was greatly delighted, and endeavoured the more intently, by displaying gratitude for gifts he had received, to deserve still more valuable benefits.

He considers, also, that he is bound, for these substantial favours, to that man whose heavenly piety had unlocked to him the approaches to so many privileges, and resolves to present him with a reward worthy of his faith and devotion. For there were only two clergy there to pray and take charge of the service and worship of the Cross, though they, indeed, seemed content with their small emolument and humble dwellings.

But this excellent man, eager to exalt the place and its worship with all classes of its worshippers, proposes to build there a new temple, to increase the number of attendants, and to augment their revenues; and in order that its fame and the throng of its clergy might display the place in the eyes of mankind, ennobled as it had been by heavenly gifts, more famous and more glorious, he caused, by a prudent arrangement, schools to be founded there, under the direction of Master Ailard, the preserver of his health, as has been just now narrated. Nor was he slow to bring forth that which he had conceived in his mind. Foundations of a large church are rapidly laid; the walls rise; lofty columns at equal distances unite the walls with interlacing arcades or vaults; a roof of leaden plates keeps out the wind and the inclemencies of the weather. The number of clergy is increased from a shameful two to the mystic twelve of the company of the Apostles, and for this excellent reason, that the same number of men who had told forth Christ's glory to the world from the beginning, might serve in eternal praise in the temple of His holy Cross:

He also, with a splendid liberality, endowed them with estates and possessions, that they might have sufficient for their necessities; and he obtained a confirmation of these gifts by the King's authority.

Now, if we attempt to describe at length the number of gifts, the value and varied character of the vessels and ornaments with which he ennobled this house of God, the multiplicity of facts might perhaps detract from the exactness of the narrative. But lest the account of his munificence should be lost altogether, or in this particular—and it is known that a violent jealousy has aimed at this—it is worth while to endeavour, with a spirit of fervent zeal (since the real substance of the facts themselves has been lost), to make known to those who wish to consider them, the shadows, so to speak, of the facts. We have therefore thought good to insert on the present page an account of those things which, through jealousy of Harold, as they say, were abstracted from the Church of the Holy Cross by William, the first Norman King of the English, and carried off to Neustria. For that King, as we read, carried off to Normandy, from Waltham, seven shrines, of which three were gold and four silver-gilt, full of relics and precious gems; four books of Holy Writ, ornamented with gold, silver, and gems in their bindings; four large gold and silver censers; six candelabra, of which two were gold and the rest silver; three large pitchers of Greek work, silver and gilt; four crosses worked in gold and silver and precious stones; one cross that was cast from fifty gold marks; five

most precious priestly vestments, ornamented with gold and gems; five hoods, ornamented with gold and gems, in one of which were twelve gold marks; two copes, ornamented with gold and gems; five chalices, two gold and the rest silver; four altars with their relics, of which one altar was gold, and the other silver-gilt; one silver wine-horn, valued at one hundred shillings; ten phylacteries, one of which was prepared from two gold marks and precious gems, and the others from gold and silver; two dulcimers; some saddles for women, worked with much gold; and two bells of great value.

These, and very many other things, which it would take a long time to mention, and which the ambition of the Normans would consider incomparable, are known to have been offered to the Holy Cross by Harold in his piety, and taken away by William through hatred. The latter, however, seems to have palliated the heinousness of the robbery by an easy kind of compensation—by disseminating a clear account of the progress of events by which the Cross was discovered and conveyed to Waltham, wherein it is also more fully expressed what, and how many, things the holy man, in a wonderful warmth of devotion, presented to the holy place, either in estates, or various revenues, or in a multitude of things pertaining to the service or adornment of the church. But as my pen is in haste to explain what the worshipper of the Cross did and suffered after he offered himself as a sweet sacrifice to the Lord,

bearing his cross now daily and following Christ, we proceed to relate what he gave from his own resources, and consecrated to the Cross as a sacrifice of justice ; which things, indeed, after the removal of many of the moveables, whatever he assigned to the place in lands and vills, or churches and other revenues, to all appearance it still possesses, without great diminution, yet not, as is said, without some loss. But the constitution of the Church of Waltham, we see, was formed afresh, to a high state of perfection, in our time by King Henry the Second, of divine memory. For the canons, who were under a strict rule and discipline, dedicated by Harold to their sacred watches, sinking through the gradual lapse of time to secular pursuits, had put before the sacred canonical rule the emptiness of secular life. For deriving their name from both words, the " *sæculum* " and the " *canon*," they divided the meaning of their name in reverse order, for lusting after secular things and despising the canon rule, they weighed the knowledge of the latter with the pleasures of the former in a false balance ; wherefore casting aside their sacred duties, they, who ought to have spent their time in the halls of the Lord's house, strutted about in the common paths of the world. These men being at length removed from their office by the holy zeal of the above-mentioned King, the same place is ennobled by the institution of regular canons. They happily, uniting the Latin rule with the Greek canon, preserve in their life the virtues of the double word and the simple matter, so that they

ought to be objects of the greatest veneration both to the Greeks and the Latins. These men Henry most honourably adorned with offices built for regular canons; but Harold, with the kindest thought, increased their incomes. For by these men the Lord's flock, which served the Lord there in holiness and righteousness, is supported; by them day by day innumerable crowds of travellers obtain all the benefits of humanity; at their hands the traveller and the hungry man receive food and provisions; from them the sick man receives attention, and he who is cold a covering, and the stranger and foreigner a roof to cover him—in a word, everyone who is in need obtains at the hands of these men assistance suitable to his necessities.





CHAP. IV.—How it was divinely ordained that this man should be raised to the position of King, and, after having defeated his enemies, should in his turn be conquered by other enemies, and deposed from his kingdom; and concerning a very pious anchorite, who had been a servant of Harold, after he became a hermit himself.

WHO knows how the bones of a man are framed in the womb of her who is with child? And who has learnt, or who can learn, what is best for a man in his lifetime? One man generally rules another to his hurt. Sometimes a man is subdued and subjected by one man to another for his good. Thus Chanaan is in bondage to his brother as a servant of servants; thus the hands of Joseph, given over to bondage by his brothers' jealousy, did service in Chophmos; thus, too, our Harold, to return to our subject, is suddenly raised, as it were, on the wind, and is in a moment violently thrown down. He is raised to be King by the acclamation of the kingdom; he returns a victor

from the battle in triumph, having slain the barbarians who had attacked him. He fears not to hear that his late enemy has come upon him, but jeers at him; he runs to attack his destroyer, as though he would at one blow destroy him. He joins battle, and falls; he attacks, and is cut down—he is indeed cut down and fallen, but is it to his destruction or his folly? Will that hand of the crucified King, from which came forth a writhing serpent, sustain him? That hand, indeed, permitting it, the enemy's spear pierced his bones and nearly every limb, and grievously wounded him.

All these things happened to Harold by the direction and wonderful dispensation of that same hand, in order that in the womb of the pregnant Church the bones of a man fore-ordained before secular times, and destined by God to be born, and by all these means to please God perfectly, might be fashioned. For conceived through piety according to the inward man, he grew and was increased towards God in these exercises, and was formed and strengthened so that at length, like Jacob, when Rachel departed on account of pain in parturition, he obtained a Benjamin for a Benoni. For he who to his mother seemed a son, forsooth, of angelic pain and death, by God his father, who had ordained that by this event a people haughty in mind, rough in ill-doings, and cruel in all kinds of treachery, should be supplanted, he was made by a wonderful transformation the son of his right hand. But as it was

noised abroad by common conversation how Harold had succeeded to the earthly kingdom of the most blessed Edward (himself translated to a heavenly kingdom), and how he had triumphed over the Norwegians with Edward's help, and how bravely and with what impulse and unpreparedness, from an excessive steadfastness of purpose, he went against the Normans who were attacking him, and how, with his comrades slain, he fell on the enemy single-handed, we, God helping us, will write in our account of those things which happened by the divine agency through him and concerning him, after the facts narrated above, which we know have escaped the notice of most chroniclers.

Some of these things we heard from a certain hermit of venerable life, Sebricht by name, who, while he lived, was a servant for many years to the holy man; and others from equally trustworthy authorities, who have related these facts to us with a certainty which has proved them to be true. And further, those things which happened after his death through power from heaven, and which will be written on this page, have been written by those who were present when they happened, and have been handed down to us. But the above-mentioned man of God, once Harold's most devoted servant and follower, when he departed from this world, and it was clearly shown by his miracles that he had gone to heaven, emulated his example in doing good most fervently, desiring to arrive at such a point of holiness as he had reached, and being zealous to work in as

similar a way as he had walked. Therefore, because he knew Harold had done so, he undertakes the toil of a pilgrimage, and becomes a voluntary exile from his native soil, that he might be worthy to become a holy man and a servant of God. With naked feet he leaves the borders of the city of Chester, where he left the treasure which he had preserved there for so many years, taking only a portion for the crown of his heavenly King, but leaving the rest dug up upon the ground; and thus stripped of all worldly desire he goes forth on his pilgrimage.

Thus bare and unencumbered, intending to approach the Lord's Cross on the spot where that Cross was fashioned for the Lord's body, to visit His glorious sepulchre, and to adore the spot where His feet rested, he at length departs from England; and, hoping to bedew with his tears the resting-places of other holy men as Harold had done, to listen to strange languages which he knew not, and to undergo with joy no small tribulation for Christ's sake, he enters the country of strangers. At length, having accomplished his vow, after many wanderings which there is here no space to mention, he returns to his native country as Harold had done. And on his return he betook himself to a town in the Oxford district called Stanton, and, confining himself there, led a severer life till the time of his death than those who are confined and imprisoned for their crimes. Here, becoming an object of veneration and affection to all religious people, he was wont to be

fought out and visited by many for the sake of a mutual edification.

For he had become well known as a man most devout, self-contained, affable to all, benevolent to many, well-wishing to all. By these means and in this way there arose a goodly odour of Christ, and as all were borne along in the odour of his holy deeds, I also, an insignificant person, as it were, among greater ones, was carried along with the rest and became closely bound to him by a chain of love. But I, when still of a tender age, and young in the profession of religion, had visited him often through older messengers, but sometimes in my own person, and was at last admitted to the inmost sanctities of a familiar friendship. At length, when I was older, I advanced so far that he would scarcely hide any of his secrets from me which seemed useful for my instruction as I talked with him on the state of the inner man. And he, though he was country-bred, and ignorant of any language but English, he yet held a wonderful and admirable opinion concerning religion, and was clever in expressing himself in his own idiom; as he used to say concerning myself: "Let me say what I think—I believe that the sum-total of my salvation consists in patience and hope." He would add how many things the Lord had shown him in the shape of many and great tribulations, and how mercifully he had, by converting him, given him new life, and how powerfully he had led him from the depths of earth. He would mention, too, what sufferings he had undergone in

the body, and in mind, enumerating and distinguishing the weakness and various affections of both—the wicked assaults of devils, and the no less bitter insults of men; and he would add: “In all these trials which came upon me, an all but shipwrecked wretch, my only hope was in the crucified One, my anchor; and leaning firmly on this I saw, after a time, all my troubles, which I had but just before deemed more intolerable than death itself, pass away, as it were, into foam and ashes. I have indeed borne,” said he, “such and so great afflictions of the flesh (to flee from which I have confined my miserable body like some untameable beast in the narrowness of this prison) that an ignorant man would scarcely believe could be sustained by any body, though it were made of iron or stone.”

These things he used to relate, not boasting of himself or of his labours for Christ, but he thought, like some veteran telling the familiar experiences of his labours, that I, trembling on the brink of the same untried struggles of my spiritual apprenticeship might be animated and strengthened by their recital. Of such things he would speak with much feeling, not deploring the hardship of his sufferings, but giving forth with a wondrous sweetness a memory of that consolation and spiritual grace which he had found to be the alleviation of his trials.

These matters concerning the man's life and manners we thought it not out of place to insert into these pages, in order that from the piety of the

pupil it may the more plainly be shown on what a pinnacle of perfection the life and conversation of the teacher shines forth. He, indeed, making mention of Harold, would call him his master, rejoicing that he had in heaven an advocate whom, when on earth, he had as a preceptor. This, then, is the man by whom, as has been said above, as well as by others who knew the man of God, and how his position of life was ordered and changed according to place and time, these things have been arranged and made known. And of these some were ignorant that Harold was once, when he lived, a crowned king, but were witnesses of his conversation and knew well in what places he lived from the time when he spent his life in solitude in England. For he, dreading from his heart the glory of the world, of which he had experienced such ignoble and unhappy results, when he resolved to live in his own country, took a new name, and changed from time to time the place of his dwelling, lest by some chance it should be betrayed to anyone. But we will discourse of these things in their order below. Let us now from this excessive digression proceed without more delay to the narration of what we have already begun.





CHAP. V.—How a certain Saracen woman found him half dead amongst his assailants, brought him to Winchester, and healed him as he lay there concealed for two years; and how he fought out the Saxons and Danes to collect allies against the Normans, but was unsuccessful.



WHEN, then, the English army was beaten and overcome at the first attack of the Normans, King Harold, pierced with numerous blows, is thrown to the ground amongst the dead; yet his wounds, many and deathly though they were, could not altogether deprive of life him whom the goodness of the Saviour had most happily ordained to restore to life and victory. Thus, as the enemy's host departed from the scene of the slaughter, he, who the day before was so powerful, is found stunned and scarcely breathing by some women whom pity and a desire to bind up the wounds of the maimed had drawn thither. They act the part of Samaritans by him, and binding up his wounds, they carry him to a neighbouring hut.

From thence, as is reported, he is borne by two common men, franklins or hinds, unrecognised and cunningly hidden, to the city of Winchester. Here, preserving the secret of his hiding-place, in a certain cellar, for two years, he was cured by a certain woman, a Saracen, very skilled in the art of surgery, and with the co-operation of the medicine of the Most High, was restored to perfect health. On regaining his strength thus, he thought he would prove by great deeds the courage of his royal spirit which his soul had not lost in the overthrow of his body. Already had the nobles of his kingdom, as well as the people, bowed their necks to the yoke of the conqueror; already had nearly all his chiefs either perished or been driven from the country, leaving their ancestral honours to be divided and possessed by strangers.

Harold, therefore, beholding the destruction of his own people and the success of the enemy, groaned in spirit, and sorrowing more for his country's troubles than his own, resolved that he would perish with his people or procure assistance for them. He crossed over, therefore, to Germany, the home of his race, with the intention of proceeding to Saxony; but grieves to find that already the miserable overthrow of his nation is common talk in all quarters. He earnestly begs his kinsfolk to lend their assistance to one of their own stock; he declares that the misfortune of so sudden a disaster was not to be attributed to the strength or valour of the enemy, nor to the cowardice of the

citizens, nor, indeed, to his own timidity or helplessness; but that their danger lay in the very fact of their bravery, which, conscious as they were of their prowess and victories, had led them to oppose such a multitude of the enemy with too small a force of soldiers. "For," said he, "accustomed as I am to victory, and unacquainted with defeat, I should have thought myself beaten if I had been but a little more tardy in gaining a fresh victory over the enemy. For when, by Divine grace, the Norwegians and their King, who had overrun our territory from the north, were slain by us, and our armies and generals had been dismissed to their own homes, suddenly the Normans came upon us from the south. And I, meeting them hastily with a small force, not inferior in courage or spirit, but only in numbers, at length fell; but though conquered, I did not yield. No uncertain victory, then, shall we gain immediately over such as these, whom accident, and not bravery, has on this occasion shown to be our superiors. And to the attainment of this end, the enemy's insolence, and the manner of their unexpected attack, will prove the devotion of my people, and give consolation to our enraged army."

With these and similar arguments he importunes the Saxons, as well as the Danes whom he visited with an equal anxiety, to secure their help in driving out the invaders from his kingdom. But when he saw that their interests were directed into other channels, he was at first disturbed by, and gave himself up to, the agitations of a great

anxiety. For he who was now King of the English, as well as Duke of the Normans, in his foresight for his own security had been thoughtful and prudent enough to anticipate Harold by hastening to ally himself, by means of an embassy, in friendship with the King and nation of the Danes, as well as with the neighbouring countries, and to conciliate their favour.





CHAP. VI.—How at length, coming to himself, he perceived that God was opposing him in his worldly path; wherefore, conforming himself to the Cross of Christ that he might the better triumph over the old enemy, he rejoices that he has suffered defeat at the hands of men.

NOW Harold, coming at length to himself, and returning, as it were, from his fantastic dream, is completely changed in his heart. He perceives, though late, that it was God who was opposing him in the way in which he was so fruitlessly walking, and that it was His angel's sword which had been borne against him and his obstinate efforts; and the eyes of his understanding being opened, he sees that he must choose another kind of warfare, and that other kinds of defences would be required. For the crucified King had looked upon the toils and long-sufferings of the dethroned King with a regard already favourable to him, and would not further suffer the special devotee of His banner to be engulfed in the depths, or

be overwhelmed in the maze of so great an affliction. He had beheld him fallen in sin and from his high dignity; and when He beholds, ruin ceases and the fallen arise. He had beheld, in short, that He might wash away his sin's fault with tears; yet He had not deprived him of the hope and desire of ruling, but had changed the nature of his desire.

He begins, then, to see his errors, and to lament the faults of his sins and wrong-doings in the sight of Him who sees all things: he begins to find that the path to a more blessed kingdom is far easier, and to have a foretaste of his opportunity. He is fixed in his mind to become an imitator of the Cross which he had loved, to bear his cross daily, to come after the crucified One, and to follow Him. Nor does it escape his notice that, in order to become fit for these things, he must first deny himself. As much as he can, then, he proposes to take Him for an example and a helper, who, though He was in the nature of God, stripped Himself of His divinity, and took the form of a servant. He now sees how the Lord of the world, when He was in the world, despised a worldly kingdom; and, when they sought to make Him a King, fled, and preferred the retirement of a solitary life to a throng of followers. He remembers that all power was given to Him in heaven and earth by the humiliation of a bitter passion and a cruel death. He foresees that this must eventually be undergone by all flesh. He remembers that all mankind must re-

ceive from Him an eternal kingdom or an eternal punishment. He knows that if he were to propose to make war against Him, and were to go against Him with ten thousand, that He would come to meet him with twenty thousand, whose unexpected coming and whose extraordinary preparations sometimes exterminate and destroy him whom He assails secretly and powerfully when He is least expected, and he who is unprepared for Him.

Putting on one side, then, his vain desire of a temporal kingdom, and casting off the fatal purpose of an earthly strife, he proposes to send an embassy to that King who is still far off, impelling him to inquire from Him what are the terms of a true peace. And fearing that His anger will be increased by his offences, and lest, perchance, his embassy alone may not be sufficient to propitiate Him, he resolves to seek out and entreat others, fitting and suited to the purpose, with all the prayers he can, to help him and interpose for him with the angry King, whose favour and glory alone he thought worthy of soliciting. Thus the outward appearance and inward disposition of Harold are both suddenly changed. The hand which he was wont to arm, he supports with a spear shortened into a staff. Instead of a shield, a wallet hangs from his neck. His head, which he was wont to equip with a helmet, and adorn with a diadem, is shaded with a head-dress. His feet and legs, in the place of sandals and greaves, are either altogether bare, or encased in stockings.

But let me relate the rest in a few words: all the armour of the warrior, the whole adornment of this mighty man, is either left off altogether, or else worn for the humiliation and punishment of the penitent. Not only is the breastplate not thrown off from his shoulders, arms, loins, and side, but it is brought closer to his body; for the inner garments being taken off and thrown aside, the roughness of the metal is next to the bare flesh. Thus when awake, he walks, not indeed armed so much as imprisoned in armour. Thus when he sleeps, a bed¹ does not receive him, but he is embedded in a cuirass. The change in the outer appearance which he assumed was wonderful. Pleasant indeed was this great alteration in such a man, both to the angels and all the faints; but far more pleasing was the change wrought in the inner man by God the Judge, who created and formed in him light instead of darkness, and turned in a miraculous manner the man's whole nature.

In truth, I say, the change was not brought about by the hand of man, but by the right hand of the Most High, at whose word a cruel and savage nature softens into mildness and gentleness, exaltation becomes humility; but who can tell of all the benefits of so blessed a change? That I may condense in a few words an endless matter: by this change, lust of the flesh and the world was transformed into a contempt and hatred of such things, and yielded to a desire and love for heavenly things.

¹ A play on the words "thorus" and "thorax."

Thus, I repeat, by the help of the Most High, the King is transformed into the soldier, and the soldier of Christ indeed, the kingdom of the world being now more despised than it was before desired. The King is transformed into the soldier; the King becomes a soldier that so the soldier may become a king, and that he who is both king and soldier may be transformed into a king. The soldier begins to act a soldier's part on the side of Him for whom to fight is to be a king; to reign indeed in the present, and to reign with Him hereafter. For that reigning with Him is far better than this present reigning, for it is a far sublimer and greater thing than reigning in the world and over a worldly kingdom. By becoming a soldier, indeed, he reigns, and by reigning he becomes a soldier, until the soldier of Christ changes all mutable things into things that endure, and death be swallowed up in victory, and battle be turned into a trophy. Then shall the King receive his kingdom, the soldier shall become a conqueror: the anxious man shall feel secure, and he that is mortal shall live for ever. Meanwhile the King and soldier thus changed, a new kingdom and a new warfare are given to Harold, the whole nature of his soul and body throughout every sense and limb blooms afresh and to new uses in the world. In hunger and thirst, in cold and nakedness, in prayers, in watchings, in insults and wrongs; in a word, in every toil and hardship, the flesh is weakened, the spirit strengthened, the soul rejoiced. His panting breast trembles with

fighs, which before swelled with slaughters and thundered forth threatenings. His eyes are bedewed with showers of tears, which were wont to flash forth lightnings on his rivals, at the bidding of an angry soul. His face, his brows, his neck displayed no elation, pride, nor cruelty; modesty regulates his gait; piety, his mind; purity guides his affections. Integrity gives form to his inward and outward movements; sanctity changes all his doings into her own ways. Harold appears now to govern himself more happily than is wont, to reign more eminently, to wage war with greater security and usefulness. He delights that he has been conquered by man, since by conquering the world and himself he has, though conquered, learnt how to achieve a more glorious victory over the devil.





CHAP. VII.—How he entered on a long pilgrimage to obtain the prayers of holy men ; and how, before he became a King, he visited the resting-places of the holy Apostles.

INSTRUCTED with an unction which now taught him concerning all things, he feels that he must carefully conceal that treasure of heavenly aspiration, lest, if published abroad thoughtlessly, it might be exposed to robbery. For firstlings of sheep or kine are not shorn nor put to the plough, and first-fruits were deemed unclean.

Therefore, instructed by such divine orders as these from the Holy Spirit, he leaves all his friends who had seemed to cleave to him up to that time : he deserts his kinsfolk : he retires secretly from all who had known him : he approaches peoples hitherto unknown to him : he seeks for supporters far and wide amongst those who are not unknown to him, but who were in days gone by indeed well known to and loved by him, and now more closely united in a feeling of devotion. This

man, now a noble man indeed, departed then to a far-distant country to visit sacred places in order that he might pay honour to relics of the saints in their own homes and shrines; to obtain more fully and perfectly by their intercession the kingdom of God which he already held within his breast, intending after that to return to his own country.

Before this he had visited the resting-places of Christ's most exalted apostles, when he had not yet succeeded to the throne of the English, by an instinct of devotion indeed, but also with the object of bringing holy relics from their city to his own, rather than worshipping them in theirs. For he had had a very fervent desire to collect sacred relics, especially from the time he began to build and found the church of the Holy Cross at Waltham, as we have narrated above; whence it happened that, having obtained numerous pledges of the saints, he appears also, by payment of vows and prayers and money, to have carried off from Rome on his return to his own country the blessed bones of the martyrs Chrysanthus and Daria. But the Romans, perceiving at length that they were being robbed of a great treasure, and not thinking it right, follow the pious plunderer just as he is departing, or, indeed, had already departed three or four days' journey, and stop his progress. For a whole host of the natives were not inclined to allow a few pilgrims to resist them by force or break away in flight. What more shall be said? Harold is stopped, bound, and overwhelmed with insults, and he thought it hardest

of all that he was compelled to give up those pearls of priceless value which he had lawfully obtained from their former possessors, as they indeed confessed. Returning to his own country, then, for the violence of the Romans could not rob him of the prayers and favour of the above-mentioned witnesses of Christ, and having managed to obtain, in spite of all, some very precious relics at Rome, he brought them home to be reverently preserved in the church which has so often been mentioned.

And if anyone cares to know at greater length the watchfulness of his devotion and care in acquiring and preserving these relics of the saints, let him read carefully the treatise above-mentioned concerning the finding of the Cross at Waltham. But we ourselves, omitting what has been written by ancient writers, will give our pen a new duty, and follow, as we began to do, our new pilgrim, with Christ for a guide. And if we are unable to accompany him to every place and on every single day as he wanders through many countries of Christendom and spends so beneficially his time; or if we do not know and cannot relate every single thing he did or suffered on his long pilgrimage, let us at all events, following him as he is now already a long way off from our shores, go and meet him as he returns to us with all speed. And let us give God highest praise who was with him and guided him, and who at no time or place deserted him, and let us do honour to him in the Lord, who comes, indeed, in the name of the Lord.



CHAP. VIII.—The admiration of the writer, with a brief exclamation on the goodness of God, by which it happens that the sins even of the elect work in them for good.



MEANWHILE, as Harold continues walking in the name of the Lord, his soul like a bride seeking her bridegroom, as he wanders through many places, and having found him, holds him, rejoicing with his spirit as it glories in God his Saviour, I seem to hear him singing with the psalmist, "Turn, my soul, to thy rest, for the Lord has shown favour to thee." But he, for joy of heart and admiration of the mighty acts of his beneficent Lord towards his servant, joyfully exclaims: O abounding piety and wondrous kindness of Thy Spirit! O virtue and wisdom! O co-eternal Son of an eternal Father! O sweet and blessed Jesus! O inestimable and unsearchable height of Thy counsels, truly no man can turn the thoughts of Thy heart. O how true were the feelings of her who said to Thee, "If Thou hast

decreed to save us, we shall for ever be delivered." How faithful, how worthy of acceptance is that saying, so confidently uttered by Thy apostle! "We know," he says, "that all things work together for good to those that love Him." Blessed be the holy name of Thy glory with the co-eternal Father and co-eval Spirit, who, when Thou wert angry, hast pity, and as the holy woman relates, forgivest all the sins of mankind in their tribulation. And, indeed, all these things Thou hast shown to be true, and countless, according to this measure which are everywhere written in sacred literature about Thee concerning those things which Thou doest and showest to those that love Thee, in this one man who loved and was loved by Thee. How plain the argument to us, how clear a spectacle of gentleness and fortitude hast Thou built up in this one man! O Wisdom, who hast uttered words from the mouth of the Most High, taking in hand with firmness all things from beginning to end, and disposing them with gentleness! From these springs of gentleness and firmness proceed those two rivers of grace and severity or mercy and strictness, watered by which the surface of the earth of the saints, the tares being uprooted, brings forth its seed to the fruit of eternal life.

With what calmness and favour didst Thou take hold of this man, and, as some think, on account of his wickedness; yet didst thou not hurl him into eternity, but, taking hold of him and correcting him, broughtest him forth from his very iniquity to

be more careful for himself, more devoted to Thee. What gentleness and what firmness didst Thou exercise with him, snatching him so powerfully from the hand of death, and not allowing his life to be taken away by javelin or sword, but restoring and re-creating in him the life of his soul, a life, as has been shown, deprived of its sin. Hence, too, his unrighteousness was found to abound to Thy glory, since out of the great and manifold sweetness of Thy kindness, where his wickedness abounded, Thy grace abounded more and more in him, in order that in proportion as he should love Thee more, he might receive a fuller pardon from Thee. That it might appear plain that not some things but all things work together for good to him who loves Thee, and even one's own great sin, which indeed is always evil, worketh to such a man to his eternal benefit.





CHAP. IX.—How many things are said by many people about Harold's sin; and concerning the oak hard by Rouen, under which he made the oath, which remains, though stript of its bark, to this day.

CONCERNING this man's sin, since many historians say much about it, we also ought to speak, and bring forward for impartial consideration what those, who have a desire to exaggerate or detract from it, think on the matter. For the majority accuse him of having committed a sin of no common kind; but of such heinousness, indeed, that they are of opinion the downfall of English liberty must be imputed to its enormity. For it is asserted that he took the name of the Lord God in vain, and feared not to pollute it with a false oath; and they also add that this act of sin was marked out by a wonderful miracle from heaven.

For the oak, which was once a tree of great height and beauty, as is proved by those who behold it to-day, under which Harold made the oath to the Duke of the Normans, as soon as he usurped the

kingdom which he had sworn to preserve for him, and thus broke his oath, is stated, wonderful to relate, to have shed its bark, and to have lost its greenness and its foliage. A sight well worth seeing, for a tree which was a little time before remarkable for the number and thickness of its leaves, shrivelled up from the roots, as quickly as did the gourd of Jonah and the olive of that other prophet, and all its branches became white. The lasting nature of the withered tree, an indestructible oak, increases the miracle of the blight falling upon it, and this we have frequently, in common with many more, wondered at.

Who, indeed, would not be amazed that this oak, of such vast magnitude, not weakened by small branches but everywhere unbroken, from the lowest roots to the topmost leaves, thus stripped of every covering of bark, had not already yielded to old age and course of time; or wasted by decay, or beaten upon by the violence of the winds, and flooded by many rains, had not grown rotten or, at least, bent! But when we saw the tree one hundred and forty years after this event, when it was still to be seen thus marked, a man of Rouen declared that the crime of so enormous a perjury had been thus signalized by Heaven. The ill-fated tree still stands at a short distance from the city itself, overhanging a pleasant glade, which is not far from the bridge over the Seine stretching towards the hermits of Grandmont. The man of Rouen is said to have presumed, at the unusual omen, that London would first be subdued.

The whole of Neustria, in like manner, learned to hope that the vast riches of the English might subserve the wastefulness of her needy and greedy mistress. To this is added, by those who inveigh against Harold, already truly a conqueror, the overthrow, as easy as it was cruel, and as rapid as it was undeserved, whereby he unexpectedly lost his kingdom. Thus, without suspecting it, he escaped destruction by only just preserving his life.





CHAP. X.—The excuse some make for Harold, whereby, exonerating him from perjury, they assert that it was with the sanction of God and consent of the holy Edward that he became King; and concerning the vision of the Abbot Elsin, in which the holy Edward declared that Harold should be conqueror over the Norwegians.



ON the other hand, some people, for the same reason (and frequently even before this many were of this opinion, estimating the act of the beloved man of God by the marks of divine favour which shone around him), endeavour to bring forward a reason for the non-fulfilment of the oath, and that Harold was quite right in assuming the kingly power. For judging from what happened after, if what he had sworn had been observed, it would have been beyond a doubt a disastrous thing to the nation, as it was against his own wish, and disadvantageous to the safety of his people. For he made the oath under restraint of fear, which fell upon this steadfast

man, who very rightly refused to meet an immediate death, or a never-ending imprisonment. And besides, there appeared no other way out of the difficulty, confined as he was in a foreign country, and in such powerful hands; therefore, yielding to the dictates of human frailty, which never gives up life willingly, and to the advice of some friends who were with him at the time, he took the oath thus presented to him, to which both human laws and the divine canon are known to have condescended through various necessities of this life.

Concerning the right of extorting this oath, others will dispute as they please. But it was lawful for him not to fulfil an oath thus forced from him, if, which none deny, the oath itself were illegal; and by its means, for he could not have done so otherwise, he escaped from the Normans who were keeping him prisoner. And when he at length was restored to his own people, he told everyone openly what he had suffered and what he had done. And when they hear his account they are all with one mind seized with rage, reject an agreement made under compulsion of an oath, and cry out vehemently that it must not be observed. Heaven forbid, say they, that we should serve the Normans! Heaven forbid that the liberty of our city and of our English nobility should ever be subservient to the barbarian yoke of Norman pride! Why should more be said? All cry with one voice: one opinion is in every mind. Putting aside, then, all danger from the oath, which was thought to be of no value,

Harold at length, by the unanimous advice of all, is raised to the throne. But that this had not happened with the divine Will had been declared a little time after from heaven. For when the Norwegian King, sailing with a numerous fleet, had made an entry into England, attacking the province of York with fire and sword, and had begun to lay waste everything that came in his way, and when the newly-elected King was hastening to meet him with an army he had collected, he was suddenly seized with most violent pain in his leg.

Fettered as he thus had become, and in agony for the peril of his subjects rather than at his own pain, passing nearly the whole night without sleep in sighs and prayers, he begged for the familiar assistance of the Holy Cross. In the same night there appeared to that servant of the Lord, Elfin, the Abbot of Ramsey, King Edward, the holy and watchful defender of his people, the predecessor of our sorrowing and afflicted hero, telling the Abbot the misfortune of the King which had happened to his body and spirit, showing him besides the King's thoughts as he lay upon his bed; sending him, and saying to him, "Rise, go, and tell your King from me the remedy for his present pain and the threatened war, that, at my intercession, God has granted him the victory. Let the revelation of his heart's thoughts be a sign to him from heaven that the remedy is to be attended to, and let the argument of this unwonted revelation be a certain omen of his obtaining the victory." So the King, to speak briefly, is cured by divine favour,

and is exhilarated by heavenly messages. Attacking the enemy with confidence he easily conquers them, for he overcame not by his own strength, but by the might of Him who heals those that are broken in heart, and binds up their wounds, destroying with the sword the enemies of those that love him. Therefore we gather by the persuasion of an argument which is not improbable, because he obtained the kingdom by the connivance of his most holy predecessor and the ordaining of God, that, fortified as he was by the favour of the saint and advised by his divine message, God Himself assenting thereto, he thus deserved to gain a triumphant victory over his haughty foe.





CHAP. XI.—A wonderful account concerning a Holy Cross which is alleged to have bowed its head to Harold as he was hastening to battle; and certain other very astounding miracles concerning this Cross, proved to be undoubtedly true.



NOT only was his legal assumption of the kingly power defended by these events and signs, but his favourable performance of the same is proved. For, by a sign new and quite unheard-of in all ages, the clemency of the Saviour deigned to signalize His own peculiar servant in a more exalted manner for the second time, by which act of so signal a miracle, the favour and love of Heaven were displayed to the devoted King, and his honour defended for ever against the reproaches of defamers. The circumstance which happened was noised about everywhere, as was its due, and is visible to the eye to the present day. As he was returning from the slaughter of his enemies, this most valiant King, hastening to meet some new adversaries who had attacked him, no pressure of haste would allow

him to pass by his beloved church. He turns aside to it in his devotion, enters, prostrates himself, and the innermost feelings of his heart becoming softened, he worships the Holy Cross, multiplies vow upon vow of thanks for the victory he had just gained, and humbly doubles his prayers that he may obtain another trophy of victory, if it should please God's High Majesty. His prayers being at length finished, and the issue of the impending conflict entrusted in his earnest devotion to the faithful judgment of Him who orders all things, as he was on the point of returning with bent head and stooping body, and saying farewell to the Holy Cross, he bowed himself, as the custom is, and in response the countenance of the crucified image bowed itself.

This wonderful and auspicious action of the Saviour gladdened while it terrified some of those who stood by. For what could even be conceived more auspicious than that the immortal King of Eternity, though invisible, should be seen to answer the salute of a King of miserable mortals, and should deign and have the power to incline His head to him! How terrible this was to human weakness to see such strange things, that, contrary to all nature, a stone should bend; and, what is beyond nature, that God in His own image should be seen to bend to a human being! And what shall we say of this, that, where the art of man could not pierce even the thin palm of the divine image, the image itself was seen to bend its bodily neck? The workman toils and draws blood, and makes a hole in the hand of

stone. A man, destined soon to be a King no longer, prays, and the neck of stone which, although it might by some means be pierced by man's hand, could by no means be bent, suddenly bends itself, yet is not broken; bows itself, but from the completeness of the whole body or the joined head, not the slightest crack is made. And not only in the mere material was this great miracle so remarkable. For the image being of stone inside, and the outside silver, a double miracle was performed and displayed. It was the image, forsooth, of Him of whom it is written: "They have sipped honey from the stone, and oil from the hardest rock." The substance indeed was of stone, yea, of very rock, hardest in quality, thick about the shoulders, neck, and arms of the image, and, so to speak, corpulent.

This image was discovered by divine revelation, buried in the earth on the top of a certain hill; nor was it known how or by whom it was fashioned, or deposited and concealed there. It was brought by divine command direct to the place we have so often mentioned, where these things are said to have occurred, by oxen, who drew the cart on which it was laid about one hundred and twenty miles, and they would not allow it to turn aside anywhere from the journey it had undertaken. There it was covered with silver plates, and was not joined or fixed to the lofty cross. For it allowed so little of man's workmanship on it, that a man could not even make the holes for the nails to be driven in. Nor was this attempted, but the palm of the

right hand, as soon as a little of the surface had been bored by an iron, was found to possess a softness whence it emitted blood; but it lost not its hardness, whereby it repelled the hardest auger. The right hand of the Lord gave this quality to the right hand of His image, which, as the Psalmist saith, hath given strength, whence also it is a fitting quality of this material right hand, that being made illustrious by so many signs, and glorious by so many prodigies, it may seem to declare, not so much in words as in fact, "The right hand of the Lord hath exalted me; the right hand of the Lord hath given strength."

Now, we have related all this to the end that the manifold nature of the heavenly power might appear, which was shown in this bending of the sacred head of the holy image; for, as we have said, in the silver as well as the stony substance, this wonderful act of heavenly condescension and power shone forth to our eyes, which we can still behold to-day near the horn of the altar where the occurrence happened. For the stone did not crack, nor did the silver plate experience a cleft, or contract a wrinkle, though it was stretched to an unwonted degree from that part of the neck through such a bending; nor was it seen to be folded in the least proportion from the region of the neck and jaw. But there was an alteration, and not a small one, from its original position, for whereas the chin of the image, as we have formerly heard, stood straight out, we see it now hangs down and settled upon the breast, by reason of the bending which we have described.



CHAP. XII.—Different interpretations of different men concerning the above-mentioned signs of the bowing Cross and the withered oak; and how Harold, by judging himself, favourably anticipated the divine judgment and fears not man's.



ALTHOUGH this wonderful work of piety seemed at the time to have portended a happy and auspicious omen, yet some people afterwards said that it presaged an unlucky and disastrous event. For when, a short time after, the King was beaten with his army, many thought that the bending of the image signified the subjugation of the English and the lamentable downfall of the kingdom. But to those who look into the order of the occurrences and the services of the pious King towards the Cross, both before and after the event, the former interpretation of so divine an action seems more probable and more liberal. For God, who always gives in excess of the merits and prayers of His suppliant; is wont to listen to those who pray to Him as soon as they ask beyond what

they ask and understand. Wherefore He turns a deaf ear oftentimes to what His petitioners wish, but answers their prayers for their good and safety; for it is only His enemy's wishes that He grants to their own destruction.

But it is not necessary to make a long tale by narrating how He has answered the prayers of some of the elect as well as sinners. It is sufficient to bear in mind that the chief of reprobates sought to tempt that holy man Job, that this was accepted now and again, but was answered to the augmentation of his own condemnation. Let it suffice to call to mind, on the other hand, that He, the chief of all the elect, when the sting of His suffering was at hand, asked that the cup might pass from Him, but obtained not the prayer which He had made according to His wishes, but subjected His will to the good pleasure of the Father, yea, and rendered it completely in subjection. "Not My will," said He, "but Thine be done." For God in such a wish as that, spared not His own Son, giving Him up for us all, that He might on that account, when he had drunk of the brook in the way, lift up His head which He bowed upon the Cross. The story of the consummation was declared to be the overthrow of the enemy of mankind. And on this declaration becoming known, He bowed His head in peaceful slumber, after the long vigils of an anxious conflict; and sweetly rested in peace after the agony of His bloody sweat. But these things unbelievers have interpreted contrariwise. When He achieved the victory over His

enemies, defeated spite thought that it had conquered the victorious King. But He, knowing what He had done, bent His invincible head, which in victory He carried erect, in a secure and peaceful sleep. It is now plain by this distinguishing sign the King had shown, in bending His head to the suppliant King, that He had granted him a better victory than the rest looked for or thought. For, lest an erroneous opinion should prevail with the conquered against the conqueror, and lest He who was said to be the King of the Jews should be thought to have lost His kingdom, there was added the governor's disapproval of the rash opinion in letters, in the inscription placed over His head, which was already bent. For it was written there, "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews." He remained, in truth, a king, for the wicked multitude envied Him His kingdom, and killed Him, so that He bowed His Head. But He indeed bowed His head, assuming at the same time the power of His kingdom; which confessing¹ that He had received in its fulness, He exalted His bowed head above the heavens.

Let no one think that the royal name or royal dignity (to whom such a mark was shown by the King of all Kings) was lost by the King, either because He deigned to bow in his own image or because it was not permitted the same King visibly to triumph over his threatening enemies by the same means. But if anyone thinks that the

¹ *Convessens, lit.* eating together with; here evidently a corrupt reading, perhaps for *confessus*.

prefage of fuch an unexpected virtue fignified the extension of the kingdom, whose temporal adminiftration was at firft conferred on him, and afterwards taken from him, we do not deny that the downfall of Englifh profperity, and the overthrow of the liberty of the laity as well as the Church, which was experienced from that time, was portended to the inhabitants of our ifland. But the Holy Crofs does not fuffer the rights of its fervant to be diminished becaufe of its greater confideration for him.

But the eternal and unchanging God offers and promifes to His worfhippers for their labours and their religious worfhip not tranfitory and perifhable things, but rather ftable, good, and eternal things. Therefore the King granted, gave, and yielded to the King what he wifhed. And if he could in any other or better way have known how to give or grant it, it would have been the heavenly granting to an earthly one, a permanent for ever and ever to a tranfitory one. But He took away a fhadowy kingdom from him for whom He preferved a true and everlafting one, that the former might not be even a flicht hindrance to his paffing to the latter. And left the thoughts of men (whose foresight regarding impending danger is full of fear and doubt) fhould imagine that the good Lord purpofed to fuch an extent to bring affliction inftead of peace on his devoted fervant, He refolved that the vafte- nefs of the miracle which He had performed fhould anticipate the enormity of a future offence, and that we might put a limit to fuch things as

these, He deigned to bestow and confer the manifestation of His clemency on His servant. By these benefits, in fine, the exalted power, the infinite holiness, the unapproachable sublimity of the mercy and greatness of Almighty God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the one and only King of Eternity, displayed on the King's diadem a pearl of great brilliancy, when he was under a cloud of persecution and in a slough of despondency.

And as for what some allege about the oak, let those attend to that who worship the beasts of the forest and trees, and who fear not nor blush to prefer the senseless wood and the brute beasts to men, partakers of their own nature, made after the image of God, and what is more than this, redeemed by His death. Let them take care lest perchance the tree itself foretold an omen for him who enforced the oath and his immediate posterity rather than for him who took the oath. Let them consider and decide whether it seemeth fitting to them by whose agency the bloom and vigour of the sanctity and liberty of the ancient Church of England wasted and vanished, that, when the first pulse of the kingdom began to beat, a green and leafy tree dried up, cast off in a moment its beauty, and displayed a perplexing nakedness.

But let it suffice that we have touched upon both sides of these matters which are related to have happened by some in favour of King Harold, and by others in opposition to him, leaving the settlement of the question to the final decision of the reader, or rather of the immortal God who

knoweth all things. As far as we have been able, we have tried by means of what we have related, and which appeared to us not irrelevant to the subject, to remove the stumbling-stones from the way, and to make the path plain, the actual facts, as we trust, guiding us.

It remains for us now to go and meet, with what speed we may, our King and patron, who is returning to us from his long journey, and to follow him to the best of our power with the devoted service of our trusty pen, as he returns home first to the home of the Angles and then of the Angels. But he himself, by accusing and judging himself, strove so to anticipate the judgment of man and of God that it mattered very little to him to be judged by those who, according as they were disposed towards him by hatred or goodwill, judge according to their human lights, generally wrongly, and seldom rightly.





CHAP. XIII.—How, after many years spent abroad, Harold, returning to England for the purpose of exercising his patience and meekness, caused himself to be called CHRISTIAN, and lived ten years in a certain rock in solitude; with a short invective against the Antichrists of that time.

AFTER spending many years in the holy labour of a religious pilgrimage, Harold decided to practise a new method of life upon his body, worn out as it was with long toils and old age. He had learnt, indeed, the countless virtues and most holy lives of the saints whom he had visited, and he now resolved to stay his steps, to make an end of his wanderings, to bid farewell afresh to the activity of Martha, and to rest quiet, like Mary, in meditation on the sayings and doings of holy men which he had heard and seen, that he might the more lavishly enrich his spirit, so as to be able to sing with the Psalmist in deed and in truth, "That my soul may be filled with marrow and fatness, and my mouth praises Thee with joyful

lips." He had experienced and maintained in his own person, and in the sweet and gentle sanctity of the righteous, how gentle and pleasant is the holy of holies; and he thinks that it would be best for him to rest in future, that he may see more perfectly, and know in a more blessed way, that the Lord Himself is God.

But lest this bodily repose (as is customary to the thoughtless) should bring laziness or torpor upon his mind, he elected to rest and repose in that land, by residing in which he foresees that he will be able to possess and display a greater exercise and a more effective proof of his patience and goodness. He knew that the height of perfection, which he felt in his enlarged breast in all its fulness, would stand out most clearly in that saying which the only begotten Son of the Most High deigned to utter and teach the brothers of his adoption, "Pray," said He, "for them which despitefully use you and persecute you; do good to them that hate you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven, for He maketh His sun to rise on the good and on the evil, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust." He aspired, therefore, in his heart's affection to the merit and reward of that true perfection to which he ought the rather to strive, and to remain in that land which contains as many of his persecutors as there are dwellers therein; as many of his haters as there are men therein; almost as many revilers as men who speak with him and of him. But he does not trust himself to so serious a struggle, nor

commit himself to such a danger without due consideration; for he is well aware of the strength of Him who dwelleth in him, and in whom he dwells; nor did he fear to say with the Apostle, "Since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me." With full trust, then, in the knowledge that he has such a guest within him, he wished to be called CHRISTIAN by name, that, being already joined in a union of the Spirit, he might also be united in the communion of name to Him who, he knew, was dwelling in him, speaking in him, working in him, and suffering in him. For he said with Paul, in his heart to himself, but to us also in work, "I can do all things through Him who strengtheneth me."

It is not thus with the wicked man, nor with those whom a treacherous enemy—an enemy who overthrows and is overthrown—arms only to destroy, strengthens only to make weak. For such an one teaches you to place your reliance in your own flesh, that your heart may be alienated from God; that you may be like the tamarisk, blooming yet barren; and that you may dwell now in a land of saltness, which yields no fruit to its cultivators, and afterwards in an uninhabitable land, which gives no rest to those who dwell therein. In this land only eternal horror dwells. For who can dwell with the devouring flame, or who can abide with everlasting fires? But these last prophetic words we use without abuse, knowing the difference of those fires: with which the one consumes sinners without destroying them; but the other, by con-

fuming the sins, justifies the sinners, illuminating and kindling them. Yet why should we speak of these, of whom we are not concerned to speak or judge, who, indeed, rob and destroy the church—aye, and churches—outwardly, but inwardly enter not into nor inhabit them—gathering the fruit and lopping the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts; but now they are cut down by the husbandman, and, unless they grow wise in time, they are to be cast in a moment into eternal fire. Now because these men are become Antichrists, let us rather leave them to themselves and their flame and return to our Christian. For even now, as the prophet witnesseth, the flame devours the enemy, and in obedience to the sentence of the true vine, the branch is afterwards cast into the fire and burnt.

But our Christian, new in name but old in profession, secure in Christ who dwelleth in him—already the victor of the world and of that Prince who is in the world—by a new warfare and a new art of fighting begins to conquer his conquerors. His King, with whom he had waged war already a long time in the hope of regaining his lost kingdom, had bestowed on him the flame of affection, with which, fanned by the breath of this Holy Spirit, the hammers of affliction had forged upon the anvil of suffering a great panoply of victorious arms. With these he had learnt to fight without defeat for his lost kingdom—but a kingdom, indeed, in heaven, not on earth, knowing that, when he had obtained that, he could

never lose it at the hands of any enemy. Led, then, at length to his former kingdom—possessed, indeed, with great danger, but lost to his great gain—ready to fight manfully with those weapons with which he was armed for a new and incomparably better kingdom, he enters the camp equipped with all his armour. For, retiring into a cavern hard by Dover, he first composed his mind, then, rising up out of himself, he beheld the land far above him, whose King sometimes his eyes could see in all His glory, in whom and with whom he presumed to have a certain hope of reigning.

Here, fulfilling all the commandments, he spent ten years of solitary life, like a soldier in his recruit service, and at length, becoming a veteran, he strove, by leading a godly life, to exceed even rather than fulfil the vital precepts of the Divine Law. For he knew that that was a life of virtue, this a life of holiness; that a life of beginning, this a life of perfection; that also he judged necessary, this glorious—here, in short, he looked for counsel, there for empire, for the safety of mankind, and at the same time for the glory of a jealous and favourable God.

Now this place, where he had thus determined to spend his life, was not far distant from the spot where he had formerly lost his earthly kingdom by nearly meeting his death, and by this act seized power from the Kingdom of Heaven. Here, therefore, the patience and gentleness of the man exercised and wasted his strength, where both his own and his

people's past misfortunes, and the present pride of his enemies, was brought to his memory and fight more frequently, forasmuch as he was more urged in a more generous spirit to repay, not evil for evil, but the bounteous gifts of his holy intercession.





CHAP. XIV.—How Harold afterwards spent a long time in various places on the borders of the Welsh, bore their repeated assaults in patience, hiding his face with a cloth, and changing his name for another lest he should by some means be recognised; how at length the cruelty of his persecutors was changed into veneration for him.



HIVING, then, among the Welsh, although he had been at one time an object of hatred to them, on account of what seemed at the time a just defence of his own race, he now desires, as Christian, to suffer with Paul what he had, as Harold, done with Saul. Bidding farewell, then, to Kent, he proceeds to Wales, and staying there in various places a long time, he lived with the Welsh and prayed for them, although they, without provocation, ceased not to assault him, who was now not fighting against them, but for them. But as he was going into a land, as we have stated before, where he was once known, he concealed both his features and his name, wearing

always in public the veil of a little piece of cloth before his face, lest, if he were recognised by any, the offer of their adoration to the merits of his virtues might lead him to become vain. If, then, his name were asked, he would say that men called him Christian. He, indeed, disguised both his face and his name, because his name was known to all, and his face to many. For he was afraid that he might be betrayed by these indications, and he feared lest he should be greeted with applause from his own friends, if perchance any survived, or by strangers even, if he were recognised, either at the contemplation of his former dignity and present humility, or under pretence of friendship or familiarity.

But it was not to be feared that, even if he were betrayed by his enemies, he would be treated in a hostile manner, leading such a life and behaviour as he was doing, or put into closer restraint than he had put himself. Yet it was very probable, if his secrets were known, that he might be troubled by what was worse than tortures or imprisonment, namely, praise and applause. For who would not show all the reverence and honour he could to such a man, when he saw how lowly-minded and mild—how kind-hearted and gentle—how indifferent to worldly things—he was; and how, by his own free-will, he had become an object of contempt to lovers of the world, especially if it were no secret that in former times he had held a conspicuous position in the world, and had been rich and powerful? And this is remarkable about his frugality and patience, that he

did not so much bear wrongs with patience, as repay them with kindnesses; and that he did not so refresh his fast-decaying body with food, as just keep it alive. On this matter we have heard fully, from a certain holy servant of Christ, that if he were at any time eating a lean and small fish, he would never eat but one half of it, leaving the other half untouched—not even turning it over, but would hand it just as it was to his servant, or to some needy man, if one were present. By these strict resolutions this holy man, following the example of Him whose Name he claimed to share, preferred to be despised and afflicted for a while with Christ, and for Christ, since now he was called Christian from Christ, rather than be enervated by the favours and pleasures of the world; for which reason he had of his own free-will exposed himself to the savage company of the Welsh, putting before his mental vision that Paschal Lamb who freely offered Himself to wicked priests to be sacrificed for us.

For, desiring to walk as Christ walked, this Christian hastened to follow wherever He went, through the purity of a worldly heart, and suffering of an afflicted body, that Lamb, which perchance he could not follow in the unsoiled cleanness of the flesh. For burning with a love of suffering, as if he thought of too little account all the hardship and fastings he brought on his own body, himself his own torturer, he chose to enter into companionship with a wild race, at whose hands he knew he should be subjected to many afflictions,

if not indeed crucifixion itself. He suffered, in truth, from these treacherous, savage, and despicable men, only what he looked for and expected, for he was often violently beaten with very cruel stripes at the hands of robbers, from whom also he suffered every possible injury. They pilfered his provisions, and robbed him of his clothes; and to induce him to bring forth money, of which he had none, they tortured him with excessive and exquisite torments and ill-treatment.

Such, indeed, was the conduct of these men, or rather wild beasts, that that saying of St. Gregory concerning the Longobardi suits their case exactly: "Whose very compacts are punishments, and whose favours are swords." But the man of God bore it all with a tranquil mind, a cheerful countenance, a gentle voice, and a generous hand. Nor did his pious habits cease, though he had to struggle with such impiety, until the evil of the latter was overcome and put to shame by the goodness of the former, and glory and honour was heaped upon the piety which had won the victory. For he gave food and drink to his enemies, as the Apostle tells us to do. He softened the hearts of his despoilers by kindnesses—he made his tormentors gentle by his wondrous, unheard-of meekness. He heaped, so to speak, from the furnace of a great affection, coals of fire upon their heads, so that the hardness of their hearts, softened to the marrow, was at length melted, and they began to worship and honour him whom they had been accustomed to mock and scourge. The hand which once raged with stripes,

is now constant in kindneſſes. The tongue, once uſed to contumely, redoubles its praiſes. For the virtue of his not yet experienced goodneſs, after the manner of perfumes, the more it was handled, the ſtronger ſcent it had, and being widely diffuſed, the odour of his life became, by its diſperſion, life to many. For the ſweet fragrance of his holy reputation, gliding into their ſenſes, drove away and put to flight that devil's breath of raging miſt from the hearts of theſe brute beaſts, though human beings; and you might well think that ſuch an utterance as this came from their tuneful hearts, rather than their voices: "In the odour of Thy ointments we run, for our ſouls have loved Thee."





CHAP. XV.—How Harold, the man of God, avoided the obsequious who persecuted him, whom he had approached, and long borne with; and how a place of rest was appointed for him by a voice that fell from heaven; and how he hinted in ambiguous words to those who asked him that he was Harold; and how the truth of the matter will be shown more fully in the account given by his successor.

BUT this man of God, this practiser of a deep humility, this lover of quietness, this careful guardian of both these virtues, lest he should lose or destroy in the least either of these good qualities, decides that he must fly from those whom he had first sought out to persecute him, but who now were inclined to worship him. The virtue of his bodily strength, which would not yield to labours, but was become broken with years, began to give way in him. Once you would have thought that his knees were growing strong rather than weak by his fastings; that his legs were gaining activity;

that he scarcely felt fatigue. But now the decrepit old man was to experience that "Old age brings everything." He makes a prayer to the Lord that he may be shown a place, in his declining years, desiring a pleasant vision to his fainting heart, and begs that God with His wonted kindness will grant him such a resting-place, where he may pass the remainder of his life in the quiet of a much-desired repose, and there end his days by a happy death. And feeling that the Lord in His beneficent spirit had listened to the pious desire of His poor suppliant, he caused himself to be mounted on a poor beast, and, content with his usual attendant, starts on the journey which the Lord would deign to appoint for him; and was thus borne by feet that were another's because his own had no strength left in them. Departing, then, ignorant by design, and wisely uninformed of his journey's end, and led by angelic guidance, he reached at length the city of Chester, where, as the day was declining towards evening, arriving in the midst of the city, when he heard his attendants inquiring where they were to stay, a voice suddenly falls upon them. "Go," it said, "good man, to the church of St. John; there you shall find a resting-place prepared for you." The attendant, astonished at what he heard, gazes all round with curious eye, seeking for the owner of the voice, but none was visible. It was clear, forsooth, that it was the Lord's holy angel who, accompanying them on their journey, and ordering everything for their benefit, had told the man of God that a place was

prepared for him. And he, as was his custom, with the veil that hung before his eyes covering nearly the whole of his face, had disguised his countenance, lest he might frighten those who met him by the remarkable appearance of his wounds; or lest, if he were recognised, a feeling of vanity might steal over his senses at the reverence he would be subjected to. The bystanders soon point out with their finger the church which was signified to them by the divine oracle; he approaches, and is heartily welcomed as a heavenly-appointed guest.

For the fact was that a venerable hermit of that place had recently departed this life, thus leaving his little dwelling vacant for a holy successor thus divinely provided. The daughter of Sion, by which I mean the church we have mentioned above, full of joy and gladness (though no one knew for certain who he was), received her King, though seated in this ignoble fashion, and yet a saint, and coming in all things as a Saviour to them. And as he abode there, when he was frequently asked by those who came to visit him, and who reported what edification they gained from him, whether he was present at the war when King Harold was said to have been killed, he replied, "I was certainly there." But to some who suspected that perhaps he might be Harold himself, and who questioned him more closely than was right, he would sometimes thus speak of himself, "When the battle of Hastings was fought, there was no one more dear to Harold than myself." With such ambiguous words, so to speak, he did

not so much confirm the truth of the facts, as refuse to strengthen them in their doubtful conjectures. But how the evidence of the matter became at length plainly known to all will be shown below in the words, not of ourselves, but of a venerable man who succeeded Harold in his habitation at the same hermitage.





CHAP. XVI.—The reader is advised not to despise the reading which he feels differs from the opinions of some; and concerning the three occasions of those who think differently about this present subject; and concerning the threefold mistake of William of Malmesbury on the fate of Harold.



MEANWHILE, I think I ought in all humility to suggest to the reader that he should not think he ought to despise our history from its evident insignificance, because, perchance, he remembers that many persons have spoken and written on this same subject in one place or another; for it is plain that not only ordinary historians, but also most renowned orators, have thought and written not only differently, but quite the opposite to each other concerning the words of Harold. For it is quite clear, both by common-sense as well as authority, that what differs from truth cannot be true. This also St. Jerome, at the dictation of truth itself, has said. But in the reasonableness of these opinions which

we are here ventilating, a threefold cause of difference of opinion or, what no one ought to deny, of falsehood, can be assigned by those who well consider the matter. In the first place, indeed, it is plain that, in many cases, the truth of matters has for a long time escaped everyone. Hence dislike of, or favour to, a particular person seems to have given an excellent opportunity to kindly-disposed persons of relating good things, and likewise to evil-disposed persons of inventing evil things, when the facts themselves were uncertain.

Actuated by some such consideration as this, that most eloquent William of Malmesbury discriminates in his chronicles, and promises to take a half-way position between Harold's detractors and his supporters. I should have thought he would, without doubt, have insisted on the truth for its very virtue's sake, and would not willingly have defrauded the merits of the affair of their just praises or their due criticism. But because he wrote of things he had heard of but had not seen, by the law of histories the truth of the writer is assured where the truth of the facts themselves is wrecked; otherwise, not even had the most blessed writers of the Gospels escaped the risk of mistakes—thus Joseph is called the father of the Saviour; thus certain of His disciples are more particularly called His brothers than the rest, not that their real father, but their putative father had them as sons, not indeed natural, but adopted sons. Therefore, following general opinion, and

unaccustomed to the truth, this man is known to have introduced into his history what it is plain was the reverse of the truth, however much the truth of things is relied on to strengthen one's story.

But in the other things, which he commented upon at one time with a pen of gold, at another with a pen steeped with pitch, concerning the merits or manners of Harold, as his mind informed him or report suggested, perhaps he wandered from the path of truth somewhat pardonably; but he fell more severely when he attacked the very Anointed of the Lord. For he turned upon himself in his impetuosity three spears, by which it chanced that, not his person indeed, but his truth was attacked. He said that Harold met his death by an arrow-wound upon his head; he said that the soldier who attacked the dead King's thigh had been driven from the army after censure from the victorious Duke; he related that money was offered by his mother to the victorious William for a royal funeral, but that he was taken away, without payment of money, and buried at Waltham. Thus, concerning the thigh, the head, and the man's whole body, the tongue of the speaker, who writes many things in secret, runs riot with more licence than the armed hand of the soldier who fights openly. But the Lord has delivered the poor and needy man—whom He has proved to be more mighty in most things than many orators and kings—from the arrow of the mouth of the one and from the spear in the hand of the other.

I do not speak of all these things; but the Lord will give to him who walks in simplicity the power to understand what I write, to think what I think. But a contemporary of the present writer has written in temperate language an account of these things (namely, Ethelred, a venerable abbot) in the life of his holy predecessor, King Edward. He says, indeed, that Harold either fell in battle or escaped, not without wounds, reserved for repentance.





CHAP. XVII.—What happened to the people of Waltham in their holy anxiety concerning the burial of their patron; and how they were misled by a woman's mistake.

BUT the offence of such a mistake on the part of William is a great deal lessened because what took place at Waltham was well known far and wide. For, in truth, this horrible report had reached the ears of the private domestic canons of the King at Waltham, seeing that nearly everyone was saying that the King had fallen at the battle of Hastings. The clerks, so often mentioned above, not unmindful of the devotion due to their most generous patron, sent a certain woman of a shrewd intelligence, Edith by name, to the district where the battle had been fought, that she might carry away the limbs of their dead lord, to be buried reverently in their church. She seemed [a more suitable person] to make the attempt, inasmuch as the weaker and less favoured sex would be considered less an object of suspicion to the cruel

officers in authority, and more an object of compassion. But this woman seemed more fitted than all others to carry out this affair, because she could more easily discover amongst the thousands of corpses him she sought, and would handle his remains more tenderly, because she loved him exceedingly, and knew him well, inasmuch as it was clear that she had been frequently present in the secret places of his chamber. But when she reached the ill-omened spot, she heard from many Normans, who were everywhere boasting, that the King of the Angles was ignominiously beaten, with his cross broken in halves, and that he was lying on the battle-field, killed amongst the slain.

But let the reader see what turned out to be a truer account. For others thought that they who had carried off the King half dead, had set about this report, foreseeing that it would be dangerous to them and to him, and would prove their certain destruction, if the enemy should hear that he was alive. We must not therefore wonder at the mistake of the woman who, unable to discern the features of the body—hacked about as it was, covered with blood, already becoming black and decomposed, since she could not find one which she could be certain was the King's—seized hold of, and carried off with her, another man's mangled corpse, to satisfy the public estimation. And this was the body which was received in all reverence by the Canons of Waltham, without questioning the truth of the matter, and was handed over for burial in the Church of the Holy Cross.



CHAP. XVIII.—How a brother of Harold, Gurth by name, replied to Walter the Abbot, or others, when asked concerning the ashes or the burial of his brother.

IN the days of King Henry II., there was seen by that King himself, as well as the nobles and people of the land, a brother of Harold named Gurth, whom the above-mentioned historian in his book relates at the time of the arrival of the Normans to have been in years little more than a boy, but in wisdom and uprightnes of mind, almost a man. But he was, at the period we speak of, of a great age, and, as we heard from many who saw him at that time, beautiful to look upon, noble in mien, and very tall in figure. The Abbot of the regular canons at Waltham, the Lord Walter, of pious memory, was the first to see him; and was very eager to ask him, as well as his brothers, who were about the King's Court at Woodstock, whether in real truth the ashes of his brother were preserved in their

monastery, as was generally believed. He replied in English, "You may have some countryman, but you have not Harold." Yet he came to the place himself to worship the Holy Cross, and when his brother's coffin was shown to him, looking askance at it, said: "Man knoweth not" (for so he sware). "Harold lies not here." May that Lord Michael, Canon of the approved religion, Chamberlain of the Church at Waltham, live long and flourish in Christ, who firmly asserts that he heard these words from the man's own mouth, while many stood by, some of whom still survive. Thus having discussed these things briefly and, as we trust, not unprofitably, for the information of our readers, lest the uncertain differences of writers should disturb them, we will now, as we promised, set down the words of the man we spoke of above, by which it is clearly taught how the goodness of Christ made plain by many signs the fame of His servant.





CHAP. XIX.—How the successor of the man of God, writing a true account of the deeds of the most blessed Harold, has on two occasions assigned inappropriate reasons for his actions; with a discussion on the first reason, and a full disproof of the same by the production of the evidence of various opinions.

WE must consider that view also in the words of the most faithful relator, that, just as he lucidly explained things that were done, so he took care to express the reason of the things done not sufficiently fitly and prudently, as most people think; and this may be said without offence to such a great man. Hence, therefore, that third thing can be taken into consideration, which, as we said, gave rise to a ground of difference among the writers: I mean, the quality of mind or intelligence of those who relate all these things in order, who, according to the bent of their mind, measuring the affection of the most holy man, and the purpose of his actions, have taken on them-

elves to intimate the reasons of those actions. The evident credulity of these writers by careless expressions has darkened with an interpretation far from true deeds worthy of the highest praise. And this seems to have happened not once, but twice, to this good man in the course of his narrative, in their opinion who, fully relying on self-evident reasons and other persons' opinions—I mean the opinions of those who had clung more closely to the servant of the Lord—have impressed in some way or other more deeply on their hearts an inward likeness of his mind. But what those things may be, by which the course of that truth is not sufficiently established (as is thought) it is worth while to discuss briefly, to the end that we may remove from the midst of it all darkness of doubt, bringing to bear the force of our discretion, as far as we can, on our more simple-minded hearers.

Thus the aforefaid man says of the saint who was then on his journeyings, as follows: "Afterwards, because to live on one's own native soil is always pleasant, he made all haste to England, where he had formerly been King, that he might spend there the remainder of his days." But since it is a trite saying of the wise that that man is yet weak who holds his fatherland dear, but still strong when he makes any land his fatherland, and even perfect when every land is a land of exile to him; who does not see that it is absurd that a man withered with old age, as he himself says, and broken down by the length of his

journey, religious though it was, should be declared to have been attracted by the sweetness of his native soil to seek a fatherland again in it? And does not the Lord say to Abraham, "Get thee out of thy country;" and again in the Psalm, "Forget thine own people and thy father's house"? And if the sweetness or recollection of his land, his people, and his father's house could not hold him of less age or inferior strength of mind, or holiness of purpose, would it lead or would it attract him to all these things whereby the more he advanced the more perfect he became? but would not that saying of the evangelist thunder in the spiritual ears of the man who was pondering in his heart over the sweetness he had lost, "No man putting his hand to the plough, and looking back, is fit for the kingdom of God"? And again, the well-meaning writer does not consider what sort of a thing that native soil was to him—how it was still unchanged, how it was hostile to him and his party, and how it could even seem to him to be irksome when he looked back upon the whole of his life, even if he was still led along by an affection tenderer than ever.





CHAP. XX.—The weakness of the second reason assigned, and the writer's warning to the reader; and on the difficulty of patching up materials torn indiscriminately by ancient writers.

AND indeed he has no stronger ground to stand on, when he alleges the reason why he left Shropshire to go to Chester. He relates that he abandoned the place in which (as the writer maintains), though so cruelly and frequently afflicted in losses and stripes by the Welsh, he seemed to have settled, at peace with himself and giving thanks to God, for the space of seven years, in order that the outward tribulation might not destroy the repose of the inward man from its attitude of self-control. But this opinion is detected to be invalid, no less than the other, when considered, and when the tradition is accepted of those who assert that he dwelt in the country of the Welsh for this very reason, which describes how he suffered at the hands of those whom he had in past years afflicted with such utter devastation,

though with an apparently just cause, whatever the merciful dispensation of God, who orders all things in kindness, had permitted him to suffer. For if, under pretext of withdrawing him from such violence, he had resolved to change his abode, he would have done it sooner, and not have waited to be afflicted so often with losses and stripes. For he was well acquainted with their shores, in the midst of which, in a three-years' expedition, he knew them to their excessive cost, as is related, thoroughly and entirely, as one says. For this was the land which he had subdued by his wonderful bravery, when yet an Earl, and nearly destroyed it, which not one of the Kings who succeeded him up to this present day had power to do.

For it is maintained that he possessed such strength, and withal such wonderful boldness that, as we read, not one of the armed Norman army approached to attack him, but both horse and rider were overthrown by him at the first blow, mortally wounded. This remarkable valour he had now put off, trusting now in the Lord, and flying with wings he had assumed, and nowhere failing in his flight. But the only thing he feared was that the power of his wings might be weakened by the lubricity of a worldly prosperity, becoming feeble and not so much like the birds whom God feeds as those men whom the wind feeds, if in his case the seven locks of Samson should be shorn by the razor of adulation. It was this alone he fled from, because it was the only thing he feared; it

was not, indeed, the weapons of the Welsh, but the oil of the sinner. He knew that the Welsh held the unknown in suspicion, but those who were approved in religion in veneration, and that therefore they despised the companionship of the one, and admired that of the other. But the man of God, now just and brave, now prudent and temperate, sought out those who despised him, that he might suffer justly what he feared he had deserved; and wisely deserted those who admired him, lest he should be deprived of the benefit of his temperate moderation. He remembered that the fire near the prophet suddenly burnt the beautiful, fertile, and fruit-bearing olive-tree, at the appearance of a loud voice; wherefore he wished to walk with the great and not amongst those who looked on him with admiration. Therefore he evades liars and sinners whom he had for a long time borne upon his back, when he saw they were hastening to strike on the head.

But now my story pleads for an ending. My book must be closed, that the pen of those who know these things more fully may narrate what it is necessary to be known concerning Harold. But let this little book in its last sentences implore the benevolent reader to deign to make allowance for the excesses of the author by holy prayers, and assisted by the intercession of the pious King Harold, let him take him in his company to the harbour of eternal safety; may he grant pardon for the garruloufness of the writer of this present work when he sees how very difficult it was to

patch up and make new again the materials at his command, torn and misplaced as they are by the studies of former authors, and to guide into the wished-for haven the boat, old and shattered, amid the ill-famed rocks of histories, while the tongues and writings of calumniators are, as it were, winds fighting against it. But all glory and honour be to God our helper, who alone, the Trinity and Unity, is King, blessed, worthy of praise, glorious and highly exalted for ever.





THE NARRATIVE OF THE HERMIT

who succeeded the holy Harold on the death of that most pious King, and the miracles which were performed by his means after he departed to the Lord, preceded by a short account of his doings and sufferings from the time he lost his earthly kingdom.



It is written that tribulation worketh patience, patience experience, experience hope. For the experience of patience and confirmation of a pious hope, God sometimes permits His people to have tribulation in this life that He may free them from an eternal tribulation, wherefore He also allowed the venerable Harold, once King of the Angles, to have tribulation, and to be overcome by his enemies, and expelled from his kingdom, lest he might grow proud because he had gained a victory; and lest, having been raised to kingly power, he might put on one side the love of God because of his prosperity, but having been placed in poverty that he might live a more holy and blessed life, while he had his mind altogether free from earthly occupations.

Therefore, after the loss of his kingdom, and the cure of the wounds he had received at the hands of the Normans, he takes a [journey] in the guise of a pilgrim to holy places through many lands, working for God on his holy pilgrimage. But after a time, being stiff with old age and shattered by his long journey, he became desirous to inflict on his weary body another form of religious practice. And because to live on one's native soil is always pleasant, he made all haste to England, where he had formerly been King, that he might spend there the remainder of his days, poor, despised, and meanly clad, where once he had flourished as a king, wealthy, exalted, and clad in costly garments, and in order that his merit might increase in the sight of God (in proportion as he might possess a more benevolent spirit) because he would be able every day to look upon his adversaries and be happy in the kingdom he had lost, and also to obey the Lord's command in praying faithfully to God for them.

On arriving at the shores of his native country, he chose the solitary life of a hermit, and living there in many places unknown to all till he made his last farewell to earthly things, he ministered to God by faith. Nor did he change his place of abode by any caprice, but he sought where he might serve God with most tranquillity. Now this same noble man had formerly an attendant named Moses, who, when I, the present writer, was confined in the same place at Chester, where the Lord Harold, the hermit and friend of God died, attended me also

for two years. And I will tell you briefly and faithfully, though I must omit much, the events which follow according to the account of Moses and other faithful men. At length the man of God came to Shropshire, to a place called (Cefwrthin) Chelwardine, and there for seven years leading the life of a hermit, with this Moses for his attendant, he was very much disturbed by Welsh robbers, and was frequently and violently afflicted at their hands by their robberies and assaults. All this he bore with patience, in all things giving thanks to God with humility. But after a time, lest outward tribulation should cast him down from his position of control over his inward man, he left that place, and followed by the above-mentioned attendant, set out for Chester, and there, in the Chapel of St. James, which is situated on the River Dee, outside the walls of the city in the cemetery of St. John Baptist, he spent a hermit's life with great strictness for seven years, until his death. He wore for a long time a corselet next his skin, till it was all rotten, and quite worn away. But the cuttings and loose pieces he bade his servant throw secretly into the river, that it might appear to no man that he had worn it. In his body, indeed, he was most chaste and continent: in heart, lowly and prudent. Of what station of life he was he always kept a secret, that he might not by chance be held in too great veneration by men, whereby his mind being elated he might slip from the path of uprightnes, and the merit of his humility might be diminished in the sight of God. He rarely

quitted the chapel, but was constant in continual prayer, doing what God has said: that men ought always to pray and not to faint. In front of his eyes he hung at all times a cloth, which covered nearly the whole of his face, so that when he wished to walk at all far he required the hand of a guide. Why he did this, his attendant did not know; but perhaps he did it to hide the appearance of the wounds upon his gashed face, or lest, if a free outlet for his eyes existed, an opening for secular vanities might be made for his soul, or else it was that he might not be recognised and venerated by any who had seen him in former times.





ON THE LAST MOMENTS OF HAROLD.

NOW as the day of the death of the venerable Harold drew near, and as that last moment of extreme necessity arrived when the holy man demanded the consolation of the Holy Sacrament, a priest, whom I knew well, named Andrew, came and visited the sick man and administered to him all that the Christian rite requires. But as he was listening to his last confession, he asked him of what station of life he was? To whom he replied: "If you will promise me, on the Word of the Lord, that, as long as I live, you will not divulge what I tell you, I will satisfy the motive of your question." The priest answered: "On peril of my soul, I declare to you that anything you shall tell me shall be preserved a secret from everyone till you have drawn your last breath." Then he replied: "It is true that I was formerly the King of England, Harold by name, but now am I a poor man, lying in ashes; and, that I might conceal my name, I caused myself to be called

Christian." Not long after this he gave up the ghost, and now, conqueror over all his enemies, he has departed to the Lord. But the priest at once told them all that the man of God had confessed to him, in his last words, that he was indeed King Harold.





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